

PROCEEDINGS

of the tenth

Conference on Mennonite Educational and Cultural Problems



Held at

Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Chicago, Illinois
June 16-17, 1955



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FOREWORD

The tenth Mennonite Educational and Cultural Problems Conference was held at the Mennonite Biblical Seminary in Chicago. The Committee planning the program for this conference tried consciously to center attention on the problems confronting Mennonites in urban cultures. To date comparatively little attention has been paid to the impact that the urban way of life has had on Mennonites.

The papers by Peachey and Krahn on aspects of urbanism and Mennonites in Europe furnish a solid background for consideration of several contemporary problems. The papers by Weaver on the urban aspects of the present I-W program, by Harder, a missionary to Chicago industrial families, and by Janzen, a Mennonite who kept a journal of firsthand observations and experiences in industry, all lend reality to a consideration of the theme of the conference.

Equally significant are the first four addresses devoted to aspects pertaining to Mennonite educational institutions. The paper by Hershberger is plowing new ground by examining the content and emphasis of contemporary social science texts in the light of Christian values. Bender, Graber and Loewen, three college registrars look realistically at the problems of how predicted increases in enrollments will affect Mennonite colleges.

J. W. Fretz, Secretary



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SOCIAL SCIENCE TEXTBOOKS IN MENNONITE COLLEGES

Guy F. Hershberger

Education is the process by which the individual grows in his acquaintance with God, with the physical world, and with man, and in which he endeavors to find his proper relationship with each of them. It is the task of the college teacher to guide the student in this process, and if he is to do his task well he must himself have some acquaintance and experience in all three of the areas mentioned. The educational task is so great, however, that no college teacher can be a professional guide in more than some small portion of the entire field of knowledge. Therefore, certain teachers focus their attention upon the teaching of the Bible and assisting students as they seek to deepen their acquaintance with God and His revelation. In doing so, however, they must be aware of other fields of knowledge and of the relation of these fields to their own field of specialization. Other teachers focus their attention on the study of the physical world in what we call the natural sciences: chemistry, physics, mathematics, and astronomy. Others focus their attention upon the thoughts, ideas, emotions and aspirations of man as expressed in his language, his literature, his music and his works of art.

Finally there are those on the college staff who focus their attention upon human and social relationships. The studies pursued in this endeavor are known as the social sciences. Geography is concerned with man's relation to the earth on which he lives, of his adaptation to its resources and the uses which he makes of them. Economics is concerned with man's struggle to make a living, with the creation of wealth, its accumulation, distribution and consumption. Political science is concerned with man's efforts in the organization of government for the orderly conduct of human society. Sociology seeks to understand society itself irrespective of the specialized interest of the people who compose it: it is concerned with social relations as such. History seeks to describe the growth of civilization from its early beginning to the present day. It is the task of the historian to give us an over-all view of what man has achieved in the course of the centuries, and to interpret the meaning of that achievement.

Our Mennonite colleges, however, are interested in more than

mere education. We say it is our aim to lead the student to a Christian view of life which sees God as the creator of man, as the author of human society, as the author of the laws and principles which govern that society, as the controller of the destiny of our civilization, and as the revealer, through the Scriptures and the life and work of Jesus Christ, of His own will for human society. It is our stated purpose to develop an understanding of the values and of the moral and ethical principles inherent in the Christian view of life and society. We aim to help the student to examine critically the value judgments and the ethical views of the social science literature which he reads, and to evaluate these views and judgments in the light of the Christian view of life and society.

This task is by no means an easy one because much of the literature in the social sciences today expounds, or at least assumes, a materialistic philosophy of life which thinks of the world and even man himself as mechanisms which operate by virtue of inherent forces and natural laws, in which God has little or no part. By this view biological man is not only the product of organic evolution; but more important, the thoughts, ideas, and beliefs of man, and the entire course of human society, is the product of the same mechanistic process. From the point of view of materialism in its extreme form the only existence which God has is in the mind of man; and this is supposed to be due, perhaps to fear, which caused man to tremble at strange sounds and mysterious happenings which he could not explain until he conceived the idea that there might be some unseen spirit behind the unexplained event. Once man invented the idea of a spirit or a god, it was an easy next step to believe that everything capable of moving or acting has a soul, and that every thing which occurs has back of it an unseen spirit or god. Thus man conjured up in his mind a great spirit world, and from this there emerged in course of time great systems of animistic and then of polytheistic religion. Eventually he came to the idea of a high god who presides over the great congregation of the gods, until at long last the imagination of Abraham and the Hebrews of the Old Testament carried them to the point where they believed in one God whom they called Yahweh.

From this point of view there is no such thing as sin. Christians believe that sin is the transgression of God's law; but if God exists only in man's imagination then God's law is also only an imaginary thing. And if that is true, all that can be transgressed is man's own idea of what is right and wrong. This means that all moral standards are human standards. It also means that Jesus Christ is not God. He is simply a great man, perhaps the "finest

flower of evolution," whose imagination carried Him to a conception of God which was loftier than any which was held before. He is not the Saviour of men through His atoning death as taught by the Christian church; and He is no more a Son of God than are you and I.

Unfortunately, few textbooks reaching the mass of American high school and college students are written from anything like a Christian point of view. Not all state their anti-Christian views boldly. There is no doubt, however, that the authors of the majority of books in the field of the social sciences used in the high schools and colleges today hold views similar to those described earlier in this paper. Many of the books fail to make any definite commitments on direct theological points; and for this reason the uncritical reader will not detect the implications of much that he is reading. As the "Letter to the Scientific Minded" shows, however, a man's theology affects in a vital way his views on moral, ethical, and social questions in general. Such authors may be able to give descriptive accounts of the medieval feudal systems, the French Revolution, the Federal Reserve Banking System, the League of Nations, or of county government in the state of Indiana without influencing the student's religious, moral, or ethical views. But no good social scientist can stop with mere description. He must examine causes and effects. He must interpret the phenomena he describes. He must evaluate historical movements and contemporary programs of social reform. He must appraise the philosophies which underlie them and consider the merits of the goals to which they lead.

It is in these examinations, interpretations, evaluations, and appraisals that the theology of the author and teacher comes to the surface. The social scientist with a Christian theology will have one standard of values, and the pagan philosophy will have another standard of interpretation and values. For this reason a book like Hulme's **Middle Ages** may sometimes do less harm than a book which speaks less specifically on theological points. Hulme speaks so plainly that the reader is put on his guard at once. But if a book avoids commitment on specific theological points, and then proceeds to evaluate and interpret movements in history and in contemporary society from a pagan point of view, the uncritical student may be seriously misled long before he is aware of what has happened. Some students, in fact, never do become conscious of what has happened. They would be offended if anyone questioned their Christianity. They could point to a statement of Christian doctrine and perhaps honestly subscribe to it; and yet they could, without knowing it, teach social science which at many points is in direct conflict with this same statement.

I feel certain that higher education in the Mennonite church has not always been free from such tragedies.

Our Mennonite and affiliated colleges, however, are not concerned merely with Christian education in the traditional sense. Since they are Mennonite Colleges they are also concerned with an Anabaptist philosophy and an Anabaptist pattern of education. Our objectives assume that Mennonitism has a message which is unique in its expression of Christian truth, and that it has a unique and important contribution to make to the society of our own day. In his **Anabaptist Vision**, Harold S. Bender has summarized the essence of Mennonitism in three points: 1. A conception of Christianity as discipleship, a following of Christ in actual practice. 2. A conception of the church as a brotherhood. 3. An ethic of love and nonresistance. These are biblical ideals embodying the loftiest principles of Christian living—so lofty in fact that they were bound from time to time to encounter the opposition of a world that was not ready to receive them.

The Anabaptists were propelled by biblical ideas, and with the Sermon on the Mount as their goal they braced themselves against a hostile world, becoming conscientious objectors to a variety of forces levelled against their way of life. They were marching to Zion on a road that was rough, and hard and stony. But thanks to their courage, their idea of the separation of church and state, and of freedom of conscience, has been generally accepted in the Western world. While not ready to follow all the way on this point, nevertheless the conscience of Christendom has been continuously and sometimes severely pricked on the question of war. And today, in spite of what was said above about the materialistic views of social scientists, a surprising number of them are saying that the salvation of our decadent civilization is to be found in the simple brotherhood life envisioned by the sixteenth century Anabaptists and which has been applied in practice with more or less consistency for four centuries since that time.

For these reasons the study of Anabaptist theological and social principles is not a pedantic study of the dead past; but rather a study of biblical and social principles which are as vital as when they were first announced, and as challenging to the social order of the twentieth century as they were to the sixteenth. Furthermore the continuously changing character of the social order requires a continuous re-examination of that social order and of the Anabaptist vision in their relation to each other. So broad and so fundamental are these issues, moreover, that they concern far more than one department or division of the college faculty. The issues are theological in the first instance, but the theological issues

are meaningless unless they find their expression in the entire social life of the people. Therefore if we believe in an integrated educational program and philosophy of education, every teacher on a Mennonite college faculty, must be concerned with the Anabaptist vision and its expression and application in his particular field of study and teaching. This paper is especially concerned with teachers of the social sciences, but what is said here applies equally to teachers in other areas of the curriculum. The Mennonite college teacher who has not caught the Anabaptist Vision, and made it the core of the philosophy around which all of his work is oriented, has misdirected the aim in his great calling.

To make clear what I mean, may I take a few illustrations from the social history of America in the past century. For example, what would a college teacher with the Anabaptist Vision as his guiding star have made of current educational philosophies had he lived a hundred years ago in the days of Horace Mann? Mann, brought up in a Presbyterian home, turned Unitarian, was graduated from college and gave a commencement oration on "The Progressive Character of the Human Race." In 1837 he became secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education and so became the father of the American public school system. In his system of education, under state control, religion was officially omitted. Having eliminated religion from the curriculum he then set forth the achievement of prosperity as a major objective of education. He laboriously gathered statistics to show that the educated worker is more productive than the uneducated one, and stressed the fact that education has a market value. All of his faith for the solution of society's ills he rested on education. Through an application of the principles of phrenology a moral America was to be assured, and he was sure that within three generations all pauperism would be eliminated. I feel sure that a Mennonite educator of that day, if true to the genius of his heritage would have raised a serious question as to whether a civilization can long remain Christian when its educational objectives are as materialistic as those set forth by Horace Mann. After 100 years even the liberal Charles Clayton Morrison warns that the issue of Christianity versus paganism in modern civilization may eventually have to be drawn in the field of public education. And yet how well do I remember receiving a letter from a Mennonite college student solicitor almost 40 years ago, a letter in which the one argument advanced was that it is the college trained men who get the good jobs and draw the large salaries.

Now may I take an illustration from the economic life of America in the years following the Civil War. This age has been variously characterized as the age of big business, the gilded age, or the age

of the robber barons. In 1871 Charles Francis Adams, referring to the Goulds, the Drews, the Vandervilts, and the Cookes, said this period 'witnesses some of the most remarkable examples of lawlessness, under the forms of law, which mankind has yet had an opportunity to study.' So overwhelming was the spell which the giants of industry cast over the American public, however, that Andrew Carnegie was able to publish a book entitled, **The Gospel of Wealth**, and get away with it with ease and grace. The foundations of our society, and Carnegie, are industrialism, private property, the law of the accumulation of wealth, and the law of competition. These are the principles which cause wealth to come to those who are superior in energy and ability. "Unequally or unjustly, perhaps, as these laws sometimes operate," he says, "and imperfect as they appear to the Idealist," they are here and cannot be avoided. While the law of competition "may sometimes be hard on the individual, it is best for the race, because it ensures the survival of the fittest in every department." "Such in my opinion, is the true Gospel concerning wealth, obedience which is destined some day to solve the problem of the Rich and the Poor and to bring 'peace on earth, among men of good will.'"²

It seems to me I can almost hear the angels weep at this blasphemous proposal to usher in Christ's kingdom of peace through Darwin's law of the survival of the fittest. Yet it is amazing to observe the extent to which the preachers of America fell for this doctrine of economic materialism. Russell H. Conwell's lecture-sermon, "Acres of Diamonds," urging men and women to get rich and declaring that poverty was but an evidence of God's punishment for the wickedness of the poor, was repeated 6,000 times; and it is not many years since I heard a Mennonite preacher quoting from it. The classic statement on the Gospel of Wealth, however was reserved for Bishop Lawrence of Massachusetts who in 1900 declared that, "In the long run, it is only to the man of morality that wealth comes. . . . Godliness is in league with riches. . . . Material prosperity is helping to make the national character sweeter, more joyous, more unselfish, more Christlike. That is my answer to the question as to the relation of material prosperity to morality."³

Three and one-half centuries before Darwin and Carnegie, an Italian political philosopher named Machiavelli had set forth this same theory of the survival of the fittest. It is the King's business to rule, said Machiavelli; he cannot be governed by moral principles; he must be as cunning as a fox and as vicious as a lion. Statesmen and capitalists had followed the law of the lion and the fox long before Machiavelli, and continued to do so long afterwards. But it remained for Darwin to give the law a scientific foundation.

And in the generation which followed, a generation which well-nigh worshipped science, the lion and the fox in human society came to be respected in such great measure that even the Christian church was in great danger of being led astray by it.

The Dilemma of the Mennonite Teacher

What now should be the program of a teacher of social science in a Mennonite college in this kind of a world? Here is a magnificent opportunity to bring the economic ideologies of the day under the scrutiny of the Anabaptist vision. A well-educated teacher of social science with a deep understanding of Anabaptism should be the first to see how far removed is the doctrine of the survival of the fittest from the economics of Christian discipleship. Here is the place where the idea of Christian brotherhood is in great need of being taught. And no one should be able to do it better than a Mennonite teacher of social science who is well educated both in the principles of economics and in the economic implications of the New Testament and the Anabaptist fathers.

If, however, he is content with a mere traditional Christianity which puts all its emphasis on the inner experience of salvation, and lacks the vision of discipleship, he might become a victim of an easy-going type of Christianity which compromises to the full with capitalism, militarism, and other forms of materialism in the name of Christianity. On the other hand, if our Mennonite teacher of social science should be well trained in economics, combined with only a superficial quality of social idealism due to an inadequate understanding of the New Testament ethic and of the Anabaptist fathers, he might be conceivably be led into a questionable alignment on the proletarian side of the class struggle. The unique task of Mennonite college teachers of social science, it seems to me, is to avoid both of these extremes. It is to help their students to an understanding of the way of the cross in human relations and to lead them into a ministry of reconciliation which will make that way effective in our society in all of its aspects, whether social, or economic, or political.

The subject assigned to me is the problem of social science textbooks. It is my own opinion that the American educational system is too dependent upon textbooks, and I personally profess not to be a textbook teacher. I use them, to be sure, but for the most part the organization of materials which I use is my own. In some cases I do not follow any text closely, and in a few cases I do not use a text at all.

The first essential to good teaching in any field is a mastery of the subject matter. Perhaps equally important is an effective or-

ganization of the material to be taught. It seems to me that the organization cannot be really well done without the preparation of a syllabus; and once the teacher has prepared a syllabus he has laid the foundation for a textbook of his own. Whether the writing of the textbook be carried beyond this point is less important than that at least a good syllabus be prepared. If the latter is done the teacher will be placing in the hands of his students not only an organization of the subject matter, but important bibliographical materials as well, which will acquaint them with significant literature supplementing the text. Thus, where the textbook contains materials and interpretations which run counter to the Christian view of God, of the physical world and of man and society, or where important materials and interpretations are lacking supplementary materials which supply this lack can always be cited.

College students need to be acquainted with the significant literature representing the various schools of thought in any area of study. A good syllabus is an excellent means for providing this acquaintance, and if the Christian instructor then succeeds in getting his students to use this material under his own expert direction, the handicap of an unsatisfactory text can be largely overcome. It is the use of a single text by the textbook teacher that is fraught with the greatest danger.

It is my conviction, therefore, that the social science teachers in our colleges should prepare syllabi for all of their courses, and that in at least a few instances this should lead to the writing of textbooks. In fact, we already have a few textbooks, as in the case of Mennonite history and theology and peace teachings. These are "specialized" courses for which no one but a Mennonite author would be likely to produce a satisfactory text. There are other courses closely related to these which might be added to the list, such as those for the study of Christian discipleship or of the Mennonite Community as offered in several of our colleges.

It is important, however, that other courses be prepared with equal care; that there be at least a syllabus. Some of our colleges have a basic first-year course in the history of civilization. At Goshen College we have given serious thought to the possible addition of a second year core course in what might be called Home and Community Living. The suggestion is that it be an integrated course with an analysis of contemporary society in its social, economic, and political aspects, combining certain features of the traditional courses in government, social problems, and economic problems, and including certain features of present courses in the family, child welfare and home management. Since Mennonite students come from small communities in which the family and

church play an important role, much attention would be given to the family as a basic institution, including wholesome marriage, and parent-child relationship. The course would stress the importance of the small community and emphasize the need for an intelligent community building program. Numerous topics would no doubt find their way into the course, but they would all be oriented to the central theme, Home and Community Living. Such a course, if it materializes, will require elaborate preparation, with at least a very complete syllabus, but preferably a textbook.

In addition to such core courses, for underclassmen, the traditional courses in Principles of Sociology, Marriage and the Family and others, if they are to be well taught, with a vigorous element of Christian social ethics permeating them, must be taught with at least the help of a syllabus prepared by teachers of our Mennonite colleges, and I see no reason why eventually we should not produce a few texts in these fields.

From most of the American texts in the History of Civilization or Principles of Sociology the student would never discover that Wilhelm Schmitt, an outstanding Viennese anthropologist has cumulated a mass of scientific evidence from the study of primitive tribes, which he has set forth in numerous books, supporting the case for a high origin of religion, as opposed to the commonly accepted evolutionary view of the rise of modern religion from an original low form of animism. A syllabus or a text prepared by social science teachers from our Mennonite colleges would certainly include this information.

American historical and social research has cumulated a mass of factual information and statistics; but too often it is impatient with efforts of theologians and philosophers to find the meaning of it all, especially when the interpretation leads away from the relativities which the American mind has come to accept. For that reason social science teachers in our colleges should acquaint themselves with the work of historians like Herbert Butterfield of Cambridge who openly challenge this view. In a recent book, **Christianity and History**, he has a chapter on "Historical Scholarship and Its Relation to Life," in which he describes "the case against academic history" as it is too often written and taught. Butterfield describes the young student who does not know where he stands in this world of competing and conflicting ideologies, seeking for the bread of meaning only to be given a heap of factual stones. The result is that some people find themselves

"doomed to a perpetual relativism, as though between Christianity and Islam it were a matter of indifference—they have been trapped into a habit of mind which sees no values as absolute in themselves . . . Indeed we decide our total

attitude to the whole of human history when we make our decision about our religion—and it is the combination of the history with a religion, or with something equivalent to a religion, which generates power and fills the story with significances.⁴

If these words came from an American he would most likely be a theologian. But in England it is altogether proper for a historian to utter them. Just as C. S. Lewis, the Oxford professor of English literature, is known to us for his exposition of the meaning of the Christian faith for modern man more than for his scholarship in the field of literature, so Butterfield the historian is showing us the necessary relationship between the Christian faith and the science of history. American historical scholarship as a whole may not understand or appreciate this point of view, but to the history teacher in a Mennonite college it should be a real boon; and Butterfield should be able to point the way to a kind of teaching and writing which puts meaning into history and which truly integrates it with the Christian view of life. History is not history worthy the name unless it finds its true relation to theology and the Christian faith. The same is true of all the disciplines whether of the social sciences or in other areas.

From England also comes a recent little book, much too small, by William G. Peck, with the significant title: **An Outline of Christian Sociology**. The first chapter is called "Theology and Sociology," in which the author says:

"The construction of a Christian sociology requires the guidance of certain great theological truths, the first of which is the Christian doctrine of Creation. If there is to be a Christian doctrine of man's dealings with the order of nature, and of the social organization which is built up in this world, there must be an assumption that this world is intended to have a positive significance in man's pilgrimage to his Ultimate End.⁵

There are chapters on Work, Trade and Money, Town and Country, Politics, and Society and the Gospel. To be sure the book could not be used as a textbook in sociology for our college courses. First, it is only a slender volume of 136 pages. Second, a great mass of subject matter treated by American sociology is not even touched. The author is a theologian, not a sociologist, and there is a vast amount of scientific sociological data which he does not have at his command. But he does have an understanding and an appreciation of the relation of divine law and the order of creation to human society, enabling him to give a satisfactory interpretation of such scientific data as he does use.

A sociology text like R. M. MacIver's **Society**,⁶ even though it does not have the Christian approach which Peck has, does have a substantial theory of society and social organization, and thus

succeeds in putting meaning into the scientific material dealt with. MacIver also has the weakness, however, of not making full use of the latest sociological research even though it is a full-sized book. P. A. Sorokin's works are also criticized by many American sociologists for the same reason, it being charged that they are social theory and philosophy of history more than they are sociology. The important thing to remember, however, is that these authors at least attempt to draw meaning out of the material with which they work, so that it "generates power and fills the story with significance," beyond the level of the biological and material.

Many of the sociology texts in current use are filled with descriptive material and the fruits of research, but sadly lacking in this important dimension. The best that some of them succeed in doing in this respect is to relate their material in an uncritical manner to the theory of biological evolution and leave it at that. A recent book by Arnold W. Green, for example, has a chapter on "The Organism and Its Physical Environment" which is prefaced by the following quotation:

[Man's] usual disregard for sanitation and cleanliness may also go back to the trees. From the branches everything dropped to the ground and was gone. There was a kind of natural garbage-and sewage-disposal. On the other hand, animals, like wolves had to learn to keep their dens moderately clean and decent. (This is one reason, I suppose, why it is easier to house-break a puppy than a baby.) Also, large forests existed only in rainy countries, and [man's] ancestor was kept more or less clean by the rain. At the same time he had no easy way of getting any other water for bathing. At first perhaps he may have licked himself like a cat, but as his snout receded, he probably lost such a habit. So from living in trees may have come [man's] native carelessnesses in such matters, which seems to be overcome only at a high stage of civilization.—George B. Stewart.
Then Professor Green goes on to say:

Human behavior at any level of expression, including social relationships, occurs within a set of conditions imposed by man's biology and heredity and by his physical environment. These conditions will help to explain what is distinctive in human behavior as compared with that of other species, and to a very limited extent they will help to explain variations of behavior among men.⁷

While no one will deny that man's biology and his physical environment "help to explain human behavior," the tragedy is that Green's book ignores completely the divine order of creation without which man's behavior and his relation to God cannot be understood.

Another illustration of what is meant by the interrelation of theology and the social sciences is found in Emil Brunner's treatment of marriage and family life in his **Justice and the Social**

Order. Most textbooks on marriage and the family written by sociologists are full of statistical, factual and descriptive material, but fail to relate this mass of material to the higher purposes of God so as to make it truly meaningful.

Let us notice by way of contrast, however, Brunner's approach to the same question:

The Christian view of marriage, as we saw, is based on the recognition of the divine "union" — "what God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." Marriage is an order of creation, that is, man is so created that, his personality being embedded in a sexual nature, he can only fulfil his double purpose as a sexual being and a person in a union which is monogamous and lifelong. God has so created man that only marriage which is strictly monogamous and in principle indissoluble can fulfill nature's purpose of sexual union without prejudice to the purpose of the person, and the personal purpose without prejudice to the purpose of nature. Only strictly monogamous marriage, being a sexual commodity of this type, does justice to the claim of personality; any other sexual union is sub-personal. Justice therefore appears in marriage as indissoluble and strictly exclusive monogamy.⁸

If it be argued that Brunner is a theologian whose business it is to make such religious and moral judgments, whereas the sociologist is a scientist concerned with objective data, I would answer by repeating what was said at the beginning of this paper, that teachers on our faculties must be aware of other fields of knowledge and of the relation of these fields to their own fields of specialization. While many social scientists pay a certain amount of attention to natural science, notably biology, most of them ignore completely the field of theology; and it is this relationship of theology and social science which the Christian social scientist must understand and make meaningful to his students. A good illustration of how theology, biology, and sociology can and must cooperate, if our education is to be sound and meaningful, is found in H. C. Amstutz's little booklet, **So You're Going to be Married**, and **Becoming Parents**. In the first of these booklets, Dr. Amstutz says:

Finally, the conviction has been slowly growing that the spiritual aspects of marriage are more important than the biological ones. This idea came slowly because all American literature on marriage has stressed the physical with emphasis on anatomy and physiology, and that was my particular training. It is usually taken for granted that if married people are "compatible" sexually there is generally harmony and happiness. I thought I was making an original discovery when I saw that those who have great spiritual resources generally have no problem of "incompatibility." It was a pleasant surprise when I learned that European writers, including St. Augustine, Martin Luther, and recent writers, had known this

all along. As an example, Lord Birkenhead in debating a marriage reform bill in the House of Lords made this remark, "I do not know whether one of your lordships would be bold enough to say that the physical side of marriage is the highest. I doubt it. I am concerned today to make this point, by which I will stand or fall, that the spiritual and moral sides of marriage are incomparably more important than the physical side." To many of us who had read only the American literature but who thought we were reasonably well informed, this emphasis comes refreshingly like a cool breeze. Even ministers who pose as marriage counselors seem to have written as though our chief danger were our ignorance of reproductive anatomy.⁹

As one would expect of a treatise on marriage written by a physician, Dr. Amstutz's booklet has helpful chapters on "The Physiology of Love," and "The Culmination of Love," written in the best scientific tradition. This does not keep him, however, from relating physiology to sociology and theology, as it must be related by the Christian physician.

It is my conviction that the time has arrived for the social scientists in our Mennonite and affiliated colleges to unite their forces for a critical study of the available literature in their various special fields, and for the preparation of teaching materials in the form of syllabi, and in some cases even textbooks, which will integrate and interrelate in properly balanced fashion the fruits of scientific social research with the contribution of other fields of knowledge. This would mean cooperation with people in the natural sciences and in the humanities; but above all should be the effort to relate in proper fashion the contribution of theology to the social sciences, the humanities and the natural sciences.

It is my conviction not only that this effort should be put forth; but that since the task is a large one it will need to be a united effort in which all of the Mennonite and affiliated colleges cooperate. Perhaps a beginning should be made with a six-weeks' summer workshop in which the groundwork for a long range program would be laid. An organization could be set up, with a director in charge, and specific assignments to individual faculty members who would work at these assignments during the academic year. The following summer the workshop would go into session again for a review of what has been accomplished and for further advance planning. No doubt experience would then show that the program must be a permanent and continuous one, as indeed it must be if our teaching is to keep pace with our needs. Certainly not all faculty members would be present at all workshop sessions, but all of them should cooperate in the program as a whole, and be present at times.

The proposed program cannot succeed without the wholehearted

support, both moral and financial, of the different college administrations. Faculty members should be on regular salary while in the workshop, or while otherwise engaged in the project. Certain faculty members might even be given a semester's or even an entire year's leave on regular salary for working on the project. Thus the proposed program would cost money; but it would be money invested for the production of a high quality of instruction, which is after all the major concern of our colleges.

¹In editing this paper a substantial amount of material had to be deleted for the sake of brevity. Extended documentary material supporting some of the generalizations in the latter part of the paper unfortunately had to be deleted. [ED.]

²See R. H. Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (N. Y., 1940), 150-152.

³*Ibid.*, 149-50.

⁴Herbert Butterfield, *Christianity and History* (N. Y., 1949), 20-23.

⁵Wm. G. Peck, *An Outline of Christian Sociology* (London, 1948), 16.

⁶R. M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, *Society: An Introductory Analysis* (N.Y., 1949).

⁷Arnold W. Green, *Sociology: An Analysis of Life in Modern Society* (N.Y., 1950), 13.

⁸Emil Brunner, *Justice and the Social Order* (N.Y., 1945), 142-143.

⁹H. C. Amstutz, *So You're Going to be Married* (Scottsdale, Pa., 1952), 8-9.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 27-28.

HOW WILL POPULATION TRENDS AFFECT OUR MENNONITE COLLEGES IN THE FUTURE

Paul Bender

Our Mennonite colleges are committed to providing higher educational opportunities for Mennonite young people. More particularly, each college is operated by one of the Mennonite conferences to provide higher education for the members of that conference. The colleges are not exclusive. They admit students who are not Mennonites as well as those who are members of a different Mennonite conference. The student body of each college is, however, largely Mennonite and of the conference operating the college. The administration, the board of control, and the supporting constituency of each college are committed to operating the college primarily to serve its own Mennonite conference. A search of Mennonite college catalogs and printed publicity material will reveal almost a complete lack of reference to this basic purpose of the college to serve its own Mennonite conference group. This omission springs, no doubt, from our wish as Mennonites not to be considered too sectarian, both in the eyes of our fellow educators and in the eyes of the non-Mennonite minority who patronize the college. The reality and the basic position of this commitment to serving its own Mennonite young people is evident, however, to anyone who has a direct contact with the college.

A church college with such a commitment to serve its own church group, and all of its own church group, is in a different position from many liberal arts colleges when facing the increasing population of college students. The typical American liberal arts college delimits its responsibility in a different way. It may provide only a certain type of educational program, or admit only those students who meet a certain scholastic standard, or it may limit its student body to a fixed number irrespective of the numbers who would wish to be admitted. The tax supported schools are usually in still a different position, since they must by the very nature of their public character provide educational opportunities for all citizens. In this respect the state schools are more nearly like the committed church schools, in that they must serve all comers just as the church school seeks to serve all its church group.

The implication of the commitment of the Mennonite colleges to provide higher educational opportunities to all of their own Mennonite groups is clearly that they must remain flexible in size and in program to meet the changing demands of their constituency.

TABLE 1.
(Old) Mennonite College Age Population
(18-21), 1951-1970

Year	College Age Total	Year	College Age Total
1951	6,127	1961	7,673
1952	6,130	1962	8,028
1953	6,316	1963	8,109
1954	6,358	1964	8,290
1955	6,224	1965	8,554
1956	6,544	1966	8,660
1957	6,620	1967	8,769
1958	6,764	1968	8,841
1959	7,200	1969	9,059
1960	7,501	1970	9,383

This is a difficult position for the college, and we may be tempted to side-step it, but a failure to face this situation squarely and to do everything possible to meet it would be a denial of the basic purpose of the college. As we look at the prospect of increasing numbers of college students, we may be tempted to say that we should admit only those with the highest scholastic aptitude and thus up-grade the quality of the scholastic achievement of the college, or we may be tempted to provide only certain types of educational program because of the difficulty of providing the diversity of program demanded, or we may be tempted to limit the size of the college because of the difficulties of financing, staffing and equipping a larger college. If by these devices we would force some Mennonite students to find their educational opportunities elsewhere, we would in that degree nullify the service to the Mennonite Church which is the basic reason for the existence of Mennonite colleges.

With such a premise it behooves us to look ahead and to determine, as well as we can, what will be required as to size and type of college program by the Mennonite groups the colleges are serving, so that these requirements can be met most effectively. Our discussion is concerned primarily with the problem of size. The problem of type of college and of program is also very important, but is beyond the scope of this study. It is possible now to secure information that will point the way to the size of our colleges in the next fifteen years, and we will want to look at this information and try to interpret its implications for the colleges.

The three persons assigned to this topic represent three different Mennonite conferences each operating its own colleges. I represent the conference named The Mennonite Church, commonly called The Old Mennonite Church for purposes of distinguishing the Mennonite groups. My discussion for the remainder of this paper will be limited to this conference and its colleges, and the use of the term "Mennonite" will refer to this group alone and

to its colleges. But before we look specifically at our Mennonite problem, let us look a bit at the total national situation.

The increasing population in America is bringing increasing demands on American educational systems of all kinds and on all levels. Educators have been taking note of these new demands and much thought is being given to meeting them. For colleges, the coming impact of increased populations has been made evident largely through the work done by Ronald B. Thompson, Registrar of Ohio State University. In 1953 he published a set of numerical tables showing college age population in the United States up to the year 1970.¹ This is possible since children born in 1952 will be of college age, eighteen years old, in 1970. It was merely a problem of counting the children born up to 1952 and projecting these numbers to the years when they will be of college age. Dr. Thompson's tables show numbers by states and also totals for the United States. He has presented various analyses and interpretations of these data at various times since their preparation. A widely distributed presentation is entitled "The Impending Tidal Wave of Students."² This consists of a set of graphs and an accompanying interpretation, put out both as a set of lantern slides with accompanying tape recording, and as a printed pamphlet. I will show a few tables from Thompson's data and will quote from Thompson's interpretation.

TABLE 2.
Births in the United States

1933	2,081,226	1944	2,794,800
1934	2,167,636	1945	2,735,456
1935	2,155,105	1946	3,288,672
1936	2,144,790	1947	3,699,940
1937	2,203,337	1948	3,535,068
1938	2,286,962	1949	3,559,529
1939	2,265,588	1950	3,554,147
1940	2,360,399	1951	3,648,954
1941	2,513,427	1952	3,839,490
1942	2,808,996	1953	3,909,000
1943	2,934,860		

"The population of the United States has doubled in the last fifty years. See Table 2.) The number of births each year has almost doubled in the last twenty years, reaching nearly four million in 1953. The average number of births each year for the last eight years is more than a million above the average for the eight years immediately preceding. The burden of educating this unprecedented tidal wave of students when it strikes our colleges and universities will be far greater than anything we have been called upon to bear thus far."

TABLE 3.
Elementary School Enrollment Projected to 1959-1960
Kindergarten through Grade Eight

1929-30	23,514,000	1953-54	26,797,000
1939-40	20,985,000	1954-55	28,049,000
1945-46	19,937,000	1955-56	29,301,000
1947-48	20,742,000	1956-57	30,052,000
1949-50	22,113,000	1957-58	31,054,000
1950-51	22,739,000	1958-59	32,056,000
1951-52	23,503,000	1959-60	33,559,000
1952-53	25,044,000		

"The elementary schools are, of course, the first to feel the effect of increasing enrollments. (See table 3.) While these enrollments have grown steadily at the rate of about three quarters of a million a year for the last five years, the big increases are yet to come at the rate of more than one million per year for the next six years. For every two classrooms we had in the United States last year, another must be built within six years."

TABLE 4.
High School Enrollment Projected to 1966-1967
Grades Nine through Twelve

1929-30	4,740,000	1956-57	7,144,885
1939-40	7,059,000	1957-58	7,665,416
1945-46	6,187,000	1958-59	8,020,043
1947-48	6,255,000	1959-60	8,222,915
1949-50	6,379,000	1960-61	8,617,388
1950-51	6,493,000	1961-62	9,226,125
1951-52	6,518,000	1962-63	9,821,158
1952-53	6,619,000	1963-64	10,483,446
1953-54	6,291,834	1964-65	10,734,443
1954-55	6,478,431	1965-66	10,750,217
1955-56	6,734,261	1966-67	10,979,044

"High schools will soon begin to feel the effect of this oncoming tide of students. (See Table 4.) Continued increasing numbers of teachers, classrooms, and added financial support will be necessary in order to extend even our present educational offerings to the larger numbers of secondary school students."

TABLE 5.
Total Enrollment in Higher Education 1900-1950

1900	238,210	1930	1,082,443
1910	339,578	1940	1,499,109
1920	531,339	1950	2,439,910

"The growth of higher education in the United States has been phenomenal. (See table 5.) During the last fifty years the number of students enrolled in private colleges has multiplied more than seven times, while the number enrolled in public colleges and universities has multiplied seventeen times. No other nation has

found it possible to provide so many educational opportunities for so large a proportion of its population."

"The tidal wave of students is sweeping through our elementary schools, approaching the secondary schools, and will engulf our colleges and universities in a few short years. These students will enter our elementary schools in ever-increasing numbers for at least six years since the number of births in the United States has now reached an all-time peak. The sheer impact of unprecedented numbers will force us to explore every resource and exert every effort to prepare for their coming. In these years of relative peace and quiet it is difficult for us to prepare ourselves for a time when we shall be confronted with at least twice our present number of students. The fact remains that they are already born. We know the time of their coming—we can count them now."

"Two basic factors, the increasing number of births and the increasing proportion of college-age youth who are attending colleges, are contributing to the ever-increasing enrollment.

"The percentage of college-age youth attending institutions of higher education has increased an average of approximately 1 per cent a year for the last twenty years, rising from 4 per cent in 1900 to more than 30 per cent at the present time. It seems obvious that we have not reached the peak at 30 per cent. Undoubtedly, we shall not reach for many years the 80 per cent attendance in higher education which we have now reached in the elementary and secondary school level. We may, however, reach 40 per cent or 50 per cent of the age group in attendance in our institutions of higher education. The broken-line graph (see

TABLE 6.

Per Cent of College-Age Group Attending Colleges and Universities
Projected to 1971-1972

A		B		C	
1899-1900	4.0	1953-54	32.0	1962-63	41.0
1909-10	4.8	1954-55	33.0	1963-64	42.0
1919-20	8.1	1955-56	34.0	1964-65	43.0
1929-30	12.2	1956-57	35.0	1965-66	44.0
1939-40	17.7	1957-58	36.0	1966-67	45.0
1949-50	31.0	1958-59	37.0	1967-68	46.0
1951-52	34.9	1959-60	38.0	1968-69	47.0
1952-53	31.0	1960-61	39.0	1969-70	48.0
		1961-62	40.0	1970-71	49.0
				1971-72	50.0

Table 6) portrays three possible assumptions: (A) that we have now reached our peak proportional attendance in institutions of higher education, (B) that the per cent of those of college age in actual attendance will increase 1 per cent a year up to 40 per

cent, (C) that this percentage will increase 1 per cent a year up to 50 per cent of the age group in attendance. Regardless of the exact numbers, we shall be called upon to educate far more students than have ever attended our colleges and universities."

TABLE 7.

Enrollment in Higher Education Projected to 1970-1971 Assuming
31 Per Cent Attendance of College-Age Group

1955-56	2,505,206	1965-66	3,617,684
1960-61	2,874,678	1970-71	4,219,047

"Assuming that there will be no further increase in the **percentage** of college-age youth attending our colleges and universities and that the only increases will be caused by an increasing number of college-age young people, we may look forward to an enrollment of more than four million in our colleges and universities by 1970. (See table 7.) In the face of past experience and present trends, this would appear to be entirely too conservative unless the whole philosophy of higher education in the United States is changed."

TABLE 8.

Enrollment in Higher Education Projected to 1970-1971 Assuming up to
40 Per Cent Attendance of College-Age Group

1955-56	2,747,645	1965-66	4,667,979
1960-61	3,616,531	1970-71	5,443,932

"If the trend of increasing proportional attendance continues at the rate of approximately one per cent a year until 1962, following the pattern established over the last twenty years, and remains at that level, we shall have enrolled in our colleges and universities by 1970 approximately five and one-half million students. (See table 8.) This is more than twice the number ever enrolled in our colleges and universities at any one time."

TABLE 9.

Enrollment in Higher Education Projected to 1970-1971 Assuming up to
50 Per Cent Attendance of College-Age Group

1955-56	2,747,645	1965-66	5,134,778
1960-61	3,616,531	1970-71	6,668,817

"If our proportional attendance of college-age youth were to increase by one per cent a year up to 50 per cent by 1970, we should have enrolled in our colleges and universities approximately six and two-thirds million students by that time. (See table 9.) This is more than two and one-half times our present enrollment and more than twice our past peak enrollment. In light of the American tradition of providing educational opportunities commensurate with ability and motivation, in light of present educational trends, and in light of the information we have regarding the actual num-

ber of children already born, this is entirely within the realm of possibility."

These are staggering facts, with large implications for higher education in America. We may well ask, however, whether the Mennonite population and the interest in higher education among Mennonite people follows similar patterns.

Let us come now to a consideration of our Mennonite population and its impact on our Mennonite college program.

Under the direction of the Collegiate Council of the Mennonite Board of Education, the registrars of the three Mennonite colleges, Eastern Mennonite College, Goshen College and Hesston College, have had a study of Mennonite populations as they will affect Mennonite colleges. Information on Mennonite population was obtained primarily from the 1950 Mennonite Family Census taken by the Mennonite Research Foundation.

Data were compiled showing all births in Mennonite families in the United States and Canada from 1930 till 1949. For the three following years, 1950 to 1952, we have estimated the numbers of births by using the average birth rate for the previous ten years as compared to the total Mennonite Sunday school enrollment. (See Table 1.) The total Mennonite births range from about 1600 in 1930 to about 2700 in 1952, with less fluctuation than the total United States births over this period, that is, there was less of a drop in births during the depression years of the thirties and also less of a rise during the war years of the forties among Mennonites than nationally, although the same general trend was followed.

TABLE 10.
Births per 1000 Population, 1930 to 1952

Year	Old Mennonite*	U. States†	Year	Old Mennonite*	U. States†
1930.....	29.3	18.9	1942.....	31.2	20.8
1931.....	28.9	18.0	1943.....	29.3	21.5
1932.....	27.7	17.4	1944.....	31.0	20.2
1933.....	27.3	16.6	1945.....	27.7	19.5
1934.....	24.4	17.2	1946.....	32.6	23.3
1935.....	28.7	16.9	1947.....	30.8	25.8
1936.....	26.4	16.7	1948.....	29.3	24.2
1937.....	23.1	17.1	1949.....	27.1	24.0
1938.....	28.5	17.6	1950.....	29.5**	23.6
1939.....	27.6	17.3	1951.....	29.5**	24.5
1940.....	26.1	17.9	1952.....	29.5**	24.6
1941.....	28.3	18.8			

* Based on Sunday School Enrollment

** Average for the previous ten years

† Based on total population

The birth rate among Mennonites has over this period been consistently higher than for the total United States population. (See Table 10.) In 1930 the Mennonite birth rate was about 29

per thousand population whereas the national rate was about 19. The Mennonite birth rate has in general maintained about this same higher level of near 30 per thousand while the United States birth rate had increased to near 25 per thousand by 1952.

TABLE 11.
Old Mennonite Enrollment in the Three Old Mennonite Colleges
1935 to 1954

Year	Eastern Mennonite College	Goshen College	Hesston College	Total
1935	38	172	44	254
1936	38	182	39	259
1937	49	220	59	328
1938	40	180	80	300
1939	52	195	90	337
1940	55	191	101	347
1941	67	177	77	321
1942	71	187	65	323
1943	81	175	41	297
1944	87	192	30	309
1945	104	227	46	377
1946	153	371	80	604
1947	192	425	100	717
1948	242	450	115	807
1949	220	440	103	763
1950	223	427	116	766
1951	207	434	127	768
1952	229	454	125	808
1953	220	465	117	802
1954	285*	470*	109*	864*

* First semester, 1954-55 only. Numbers for previous years are annual totals.

The total number of Mennonite students in our three Mennonite colleges, Eastern Mennonite College, Hesston College and Goshen College, has risen from about 250 in 1935 to almost 900 in the fall of 1954. (See Table 11.) There was a slight drop in numbers during the war years, but a large increase after the war to a continuing high level. In the fall of 1954 there were Mennonite students in Goshen College numbering 470 for 54 per cent of the total, 109 in Hesston College for 13 per cent of the total, and 285 in Eastern Mennonite College for 35 per cent of the total.

Mennonites were also in attendance at other colleges, numbering about one-fourth of the number at Mennonite colleges, making the total of all Mennonites in colleges in the fall of 1954 something over 1100. The estimated proportion of Mennonites in other colleges comes from a study made by the Mennonite college registrars in 1953, which revealed about 80 per cent of Mennonite college students attending Mennonite colleges, and 20 per cent attending other colleges.

Mennonite college attendance will be influenced by the two basic

factors, namely, the increasing number of births and the increasing proportion of college-age youth who are attending college.

Let us look first at the college-age group. From the known numbers of Mennonite births we can compute the numbers of 18 to 21 year olds—the college-age group—who will be alive in each year up to 1970.* From about 6,000 at the present time the Mennonite college-age group will increase to about 9,000 in 1970, a gain of about 50 per cent. This compares with a nation-wide gain of about 70 per cent over the same period.

Examine now for Mennonite colleges the second factor influencing total college enrollments, namely, the increasing proportion of the college-age group who attend college. (See table 6.) The total of all Mennonite students in the three Mennonite colleges in 1935 represented less than 6 per cent of the Mennonite college-age group. This proportion has increased at an average rate of about 0.4 per cent a year until in 1952 it had reached 13.1 per cent. If this same average rate of increase were to continue till 1970, 20.3 per cent of Mennonite college-age young people would attend Mennonite colleges. Or would you prefer to suppose that the present level of 13.1 per cent will be maintained?

Let us look again at these proportions in comparison between the United States and the Mennonite figures. Mr. Thompson has pointed out that the national proportion of college-age people to attend colleges and universities might continue at its present level of 31 per cent, or it might increase to 40 per cent or perhaps even to 50 per cent by 1970. However, Mr. Thompson's figures include part-time and graduate students. For comparison with the Mennonite figures used in this paper, the national figures would need to be reduced about one-third, or to about 21 per cent of college-age people now in college. Our Mennonite proportion stands much lower, at about two-thirds of the present national proportion, with a total of about 13 per cent of the Mennonite age group in Mennonite colleges. Will this proportion of Mennonites attending Mennonite colleges remain at the 13 per cent level, will it continue its steady increase to 20 per cent, or will it perhaps go still higher along with the national trend?

Taking into account only the factor of increasing births, and maintaining the present level of 13.1 per cent of the college-age group attending college, the number of Mennonites who would attend Mennonite colleges would increase from the present almost 900 to over 1,200 by 1970. If, however, the present rate of increasing proportion should continue so that 20 per cent of the Mennonite college-age group would attend Mennonite colleges in 1970 the number would be about 1,900 Mennonite college students. Recognizing that this 20 per cent proportion is well below the

national proportion, we are forced to conclude that Mennonite colleges in 1970 might well be two and a half times their present size, or even larger. Only factors not now evident will operate to reduce this estimate.

Our primary concern in this study is with the total higher education needs of the entire Old Mennonite constituency. These needs must be met, however, by individual colleges, of which there are now three, Goshen College, Eastern Mennonite College and Hesston College. If we were to assume that these three colleges would carry the load in the same proportion as they are now doing, we can make some predictions as to their size over the next fifteen years.

For Goshen College, we might assume, first, that the proportion of Mennonite youth attending college will increase at its present average rate to reach 20.3 per cent by 1970, second, that Goshen College will continue to enroll its present proportion, namely 54 per cent, of these Mennonite college students, and third, that non-Mennonites will continue to contribute about one-fourth of the total Goshen College student body. (See Table 5.) With these assumptions the Goshen College enrollment would rise from its present 600 to about 1,300 by 1970. Other assumptions would lead to other predictions. In the light of the facts presented, however, these would seem to be conservative predictions.

For Eastern Mennonite College we use similar assumptions to arrive at similar predictions. If Eastern Mennonite College will continue to enroll 33 per cent of Mennonite students in Mennonite colleges, and its student body will continue to include about three per cent non-Mennonites, and the proportion of Mennonite young people attending college will rise to about 20 per cent, the Eastern Mennonite College enrollment will rise from its present 300 to almost 700 by 1970.

Similarly for Hesston College, whose present share of Mennonite students is about 13 per cent, and whose non-Mennonite students are about 5 per cent of the total student body, enrollments might grow from the present 109 to about 250 in 1970.

It is well to emphasize again that there are many uncertain factors in any predictions such as have just been made. Some of these are subject to wide fluctuations due to general economic, sociological, and church conditions. Some depend also on the colleges themselves, being conditioned by the type and excellence of program made available. One factor is fairly certain, namely, the numbers of college-age people from which college students will come to the colleges. These persons are already here and living in our Mennonite families and communities.

Many questions remain to be answered. Some of these may have

various alternative answers. All of them will be answered, either through a careful and intelligent effort to find good answers, or by the sheer force of circumstances. The answers that are found will depend to a large extent upon the philosophy of higher education for Mennonites followed by our Mennonite educators. We hope that our leaders will have clear insight to make wise choices as these many questions demand answers.

One fact is fairly certain, namely, there will be an increasing demand for higher education among Mennonites. Will these Mennonites continue to attend Mennonite Colleges? Should they be advised to attend other colleges? Will their proportion increase, and will this proportion approach the national proportion? Should the existing colleges absorb all the increase, or should new colleges be established? Should junior colleges carry part of the load? Should the college programs be restricted to the liberal arts, or should they include professional and vocational training? Should more rigid limitations for admission to college be imposed, so as to reduce the burden, or improve the quality of the colleges? Many of these are old questions, but all of them carry a new urgency in the face of the increasing population.

¹*College Age Population Trends, 1940-1970*, Report to the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers of the Committee on Special Projects, prepared by Ronald B. Thompson.

²*The Impending Tidal Wave of Students*, Ronald B. Thompson. The American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers.

*See Table 1, page 2.

MENNONITE COLLEGE POPULATION TRENDS— THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OUTLOOK

Eldon W. Graber

There is a growing awareness among our Mennonite Educators that due to rapid birth rate changes our colleges will soon be faced with unprecedented problems. We are familiar with Dr. Thompson's reports on "College Age Population Trends 1940-1970" and "The Impending Tidal Wave of Students," and hence need not take time to summarize the national picture as he and others have done so well. There are many factors which influence the enrollment in colleges and universities. The most basic of these are the number of college age young people available in a given year, and the increasing proportion of college age youth who are attending institutions of higher learning.

The purpose of this study is to determine if the birth rate and the possible constituency for the General Conference four-year colleges approximates the national norms, and to delineate any trends which might become factors in determining the future enrollments in these colleges. Some conclusions will be added concerning possible methods by which our colleges might be able to accommodate the increasing enrollments.

In addition to the increased birth rate, and the trend toward a higher percentage of high school graduates in college, the effect of urbanization and specialization will be discussed. Such variable factors as whether or not our colleges will get their share of the students, and the possibility of the draft coupled with armed conflict will not be considered.

The Trend Toward Urbanization

The trend to leave the farm and seek employment in the city has been evident to sociologists for some time. It is not surprising that this should begin to affect the Mennonite constituencies of our colleges. Nearly every year the number of college students who list farming as the parental occupation grows less. In the 1953-54 student body at Bethel College only 46% indicated that their parents were engaged in farming. Actually this percentage has dropped about one per cent per year. This would seem to indicate that Bethel College is beginning to attract more students from urban areas. Table I indicates that urban Mennonite

TABLE ONE

Growth of Eleven Western District Churches

CHURCH	Year		MEMBERSHIP					CHILDREN UNDER 14 YEARS						
	'38	'40	'42	'44	'46	'50	'54	'38	'40	'42	'44	'46	'50	'54
Alexanderwohl, Goessel	864	894	911	911	964	967	992	374	276	320	273	310	350	375
Bethel College, N. Newton	315	350	402	440	486	532	540	100	100	110	90	150	150	248
Eden, Moundridge	685	714	772	797	797	750	777	400		250		300	240	330
First, Beatrice, Neb.	361	371	353	335	339	328	337	117	119	116	104	106	110	135
First, Hillsboro	350	354	330	335	320	344	352	79				125	83	171
First, Hutchinson	114	128	126	129	181	195	189	50	51	51	68	90	100	100
First, Newton	529	575	614	620	709	774	826	274	301	321	206	292	288	366
First, Pretty Prairie	500	550	530	565	590	609	638	250	250	250	250	270	276	317
New Hopedale, Meno, Okla.	300	332	333	350	328	315	335	140	132	125	125	136	70	70
Tabor, Newton, R.R. 2	340	378	400	399	395	387	419	150	178	195	170	228	231	225
Lorraine, Wichita	134	112	160	192	210	248	311	80	87	75	82	92	91	105
TOTALS	4492	4708	4951	5073	5319	5449	5706	2114	1494	1853	1368	2099	1989	2442

TABLE TWO

Western District Conference Population Statistics
60—65 Churches

YEAR	TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	S. S. MEMBERSHIP	CHILDREN UNDER 14
1934	10,224	11,691	3,312
1938	10,796	10,092	3,387
1942	11,872	10,883	3,601
1946	12,509	10,065	3,916
1950	13,045	11,421	4,748
1954	13,574	No report	5,431

churches are growing faster than are those found in rural areas. Specifically, churches in Newton, Wichita, North Newton and Hutchinson have grown much faster than have those located in less populous areas. It is interesting to note that the churches located in Nebraska and Oklahoma have experienced very little growth—a factor which conforms quite well with the national population statistics. It is granted that there are other factors which might be at work in determining the membership in these two churches.

From the above facts it is evident that the movement from the farm to the city has affected the General Conference Mennonite Church. The next few paragraphs will deal with the students who graduate from our larger population centers.

The Effect of the Larger High School on College Age Youth

As mentioned earlier an increasing percentage of college age youth are asking for admission to our colleges. According to Thompson the percentage of college age youth attending institutions of higher learning in the United States has increased an average of approximately one per cent per year for the last twenty years, rising from four per cent in 1900 to more than 30 per cent at the present time.¹

Not all states are able to provide educational facilities for those who desire them. In Kansas a subcommittee of the Kansas State Teachers Association has discovered that in the fall of 1954, 41% of Kansas high school graduates were attending college. Since three-fourths or more of the students at Bethel College come from the state of Kansas, it would seem that the above percentage could be an indication of an increasing college enrollment potential.

It is interesting to note the origins of these college students. Ruth Stout has conducted a study to determine which high school graduates go on to college. According to her study from 20 to 30 per cent of the graduates of the small high schools (enrollment 20-45) go on to college.

Among high schools with an enrollment of over 100 students from 40 to 66 per cent attend college. Typical percentages found in Central Kansas are found in table III.

These statistics seem to indicate that a high percentage of high school graduates from so-called Mennonite areas do go on to college.

TABLE THREE
Per Cent of 1954 High School Graduates
Attending College, Fall 1954

City	Enrollment	Per cent
1. Walton	35 - 39	28
2. Goessel	100 - 199	25
3. Moundridge	100 - 199	55
4. Pretty Prairie	100 - 199	66
5. Hillsboro	100 - 199	65
6. Newton	500 - 999	53
7. McPherson	500 - 999	54
8. Hutchinson	Over 1000	59

Birth Rates Among Mennonites

Although it was not possible to secure birth rate statistics on the basis of individual congregations, it was possible to obtain comparative figures of children represented in the various churches. Table II presents the total memberships reported by General Conference churches located in the Western District.

Although the churches reported a population gain of 33 per cent, the number of children under 14 years of age increased 64 per cent. According to Thompson the per cent of increased births from 1933 to 1953 in Kansas was 62. Since three-fourths of the Western District Conference churches and nine-tenths of the total population represented come from this state, it seems to be clear that the birth rate is near to or slightly above the statistical average for the state as a whole.

Another study in a different geographic area which attempts to predict college enrollment in the General Conference was reported by Howard Raid in April, 1955. This study included a report of the ages of the children in eleven Mennonite churches located in the Eastern, Central and Middle District Conferences. From this he forecast the number of students from these churches who would seek admission to Bluffton College during the next 17 years. His forecast was based on the assumption that 13 per cent of the children of those churches would continue to apply at Bluffton College.

The results of this study forecast that Bluffton may expect nearly a hundred per cent increase in students coming from these churches by 1970. Again these results seem to point to the fact that the birth rate in these Mennonite churches must be near to or slightly above those reported for these states by the Thompson study.

Specialization—A Help and a Hindrance in Enrollment

In this age of technological improvement many students are forced to choose special courses to prepare for their chosen vocation. A good illustration of this is the special courses prescribed for those who enter nurses training. Undoubtedly this has been a factor in increasing the number of women students at those liberal arts colleges that have a nurses program. During the last 20 years the percentage of women attending Bethel College has risen from 47 to 55 per cent. The gradual increase in professional education courses in elementary education and the trend toward a degree requirement for an elementary teaching certificate has tended to increase the number of women who enrolled for teacher education courses. Other young women enroll for business and secretarial courses.

The picture for men seems to be somewhat different. The specialized courses needed for vocational agriculture, pharmacy and certain engineering curricula are beyond the scope of the offerings of the small church college and such courses are often not accepted at full value by the land grant universities. Although the student can transfer after two years of work at a liberal arts college, he must make up courses he has not had during those years. Some institutions with specialized programs discourage such transfer arrangements; others do not.

It may well be then, that there will be an appreciable sex difference in students who apply for admission at our college. Such other factors as music and athletic programs and foreign student programs are significant and should not be overlooked in predicting enrollments.

Summary and Conclusions

1. There is a definite movement from the farm to the city among General Conference Mennonites and as this continues the percentage of students who apply for admission will increase.
2. High schools with enrollments of more than 100 students send larger percentages of their graduates to college. Typical range of percentages is from 25 to 66 per cent with the larger percentages coming from the larger high schools.
3. As more Mennonites move to the cities their children will attend larger high schools and consequently a larger percentage will apply for admission to college.
4. The birth rates among General Conference Mennonites seem to follow the birth rates of the population as a whole. The Mennonite birth rate can be described as approximating the birth rate of the particular section of the United States in which they reside.

5. It seems fairly clear that General Conference Mennonite colleges could be faced with the problem of providing instruction and facilities for increases ranging from 66% per cent to 100 per cent in the next 20 years.

6. Specialized courses may introduce factors which lead to sex differences and which at this time seem to favor an increase in the percentage of women in our colleges.

7. The above conclusions seem to indicate a need for each Mennonite college to examine its own purposes and philosophy in order to determine what it can and must do to meet the needs of its constituency. Doubling the enrollment does not necessarily mean that the entire institution and its facilities must double. It can mean, however, that an institution will need to make some changes in order to maintain its own character and identity.

8. Problems of instructional staff and facilities rank high on the list of those needing attention. Actually classrooms and dormitories can be built more quickly than college instructors can be prepared. In the light of the above factors colleges should:

a. Begin to select promising college graduates who have an interest in college teaching and should help finance their graduate education.

b. Investigate the ranks of retired college professors to capitalize on the resources of those who are vigorous and have something to offer.

c. Ask registrars to increase room occupancy by scheduling afternoon and evening sessions, upper level classes with 75 to 90 minute periods two times per week, noon and evening sections and Saturday sessions. Most institutions could double enrollment without building any at all.

d. Check needs for dormitory and married student housing. While it is possible to schedule two sections of a given class, it is neither desirable nor feasible to overcrowd dormitory rooms.

9. The Mennonite students who should come to our colleges are already beginning to apply in ever increasing numbers. It would be a tragic mistake to turn them away without first utilizing all the resources at our command.

¹The Impending Tidal Wave of Students, p. 20.

HOW WILL POPULATION TRENDS AFFECT OUR MENNONITE COLLEGES IN THE FUTURE?

S. L. Loewen

The effect of the rapid rise in the national birth rate of the early forties has been felt in the elementary schools of our country for several years. In fact, this marked increase of pupils will become evident in our secondary schools in the immediate future, and will begin to show up in our colleges and universities in another four or five years.

The increase in our population for 18 year olds is estimated to be in 1968, 167 per cent of the number in 1952.¹ Other attempts to determine the enrollment trends in higher education have been made, all with more or less comparable results. Thrope² arrived at 48 per cent of increase by 1965 over 1952, and Schmid³ estimated for the state of Washington an increase of 79 per cent in 1965 over 1951. By 1970 the young people of college age will have increased for California by more than three times the present number and for Kansas it will be 154 per cent of the number there will be in 1958⁴

The question the Mennonite colleges are facing is whether this trend of student increase is going to affect their enrollment to the same degree, and then what to do about the problem resulting from such increase in the student body.

In trying to predict what may happen to the enrollment in Tabor College in ten years from now, or even sooner, an attempt was made to gather figures from two different sources which might be used as a basis for some estimates. Statistics from the Yearbooks of the General Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America, showing church membership increases, are used for the first part of this study. Only the membership of the churches in the United States is included, which in 1941 was 8575, while in 1952 it was 10,611, an increase of 2036, or 124 per cent of the number 12 years previously. In as much as our churches are quite free from proselyting and from the effect of immigration, this increase in church membership, no doubt, is a reflection of the increase of the birth rate within the church families, which in turn can show up in our college enrollment. Projecting this increase of the past into the future, a conservative

estimate of a 125 per cent increase by the middle sixties over the present enrollment would seem very reasonable.

The second method of arriving at some figures which might give an indication of the trend of future enrollment in Tabor College was one of random sampling. A questionnaire on a postal card with the return address was sent to twelve Mennonite Brethren churches in the United States, asking the following three question:

1. How many third grade children did you have in church (Sunday school) in 1945?
2. How many third grade children do you have in church (Sunday school) in 1955?
3. How many of your young people who finished high school or academy last year are in any Bible school or college this year?

The 1945 third graders were the college freshmen this year, while the current third grade class will be the freshmen class in 1965. From the third question we were going to get a picture of the per cent of attendance of college age young people in schools of higher learning. What number of these were attending Tabor College we could get from the records in the registrar's office.

Seven of the twelve churches sent in a report, two of which, however, were incomplete for the 1945 statistics. For the five complete returns, there was a 25 per cent increase (from 32 to 40) in the number of third graders from 1945 to 1955. On this basis alone Tabor College can expect a 25 per cent increase in the freshman class ten years from now. This report, however, does not represent a complete and true picture for the conference churches in the States. The California churches failed to return their questionnaires, the state which shows the greatest increase in college age young people of any in the nation, yet 40 per cent of our constituency is on the west coast.

It was not possible to use the data from the third question relative to the number of young people attending college of those that graduated from high school or academy a year ago. The figures reported to us showed some discrepancies; some showed a smaller number in any college attendance than we had on our freshman roll from those same churches. Therefore, nothing further will be said on this point.

The estimates given in this brief report have not allowed for such factors as a potential increase in college attendance of college age young people, the selective choice of a college, the unified educational program of the conference, and the accreditation in the North Central Association of Colleges and Universities, and

Secondary Schools. There is one factor Tabor College is facing which may counteract any prediction we may make as to the enrollment in the future, and that is the possibility of establishing a junior college division on the west coast as part of our unified program. We would lose our lower level enrollment from the Pacific District, which this year amounted to 7.9 per cent of total enrollment of lower level enrollment. This could be partly supplemented by an increased enrollment in the upper division classes after completing the lower division courses in the junior college.

In spite of the paucity of more complete data available for this study the indicated increase of 25 per cent expressed above is in the general direction of the national trend. It is a very conservative estimate, and allowing for other factors which can influence the enrollment, if they are favorable, a 40 or 50 per cent increase by 1965 is entirely within the picture of possibility.

¹Oxtoby, Toby, Robert Mugge, and Deal Wolfe: "Enrollment and Graduation Trends: From Grade School to Ph.D.," *School and Society*, Volume 76, Number 1973, Oct., 1952.

²Thorpe, Edwin M.: "Enrollment Trends in Higher Education," Florida A and M College, *School and Society*, Volume 75, No. 1956, June, 1952.

³Schmid, Calvin F.: "Population and School Enrollment Trends and Forecasts, State of Washington," Washington State Census Board, Seattle, 1953.

⁴Thompson, Ronald B.: "Estimating College Age Population Trends, 1940-1970." Report to the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers, August, 1953.

THE I-W PROGRAM A PRESENT DAY URBAN WITNESS

Henry Weaver, Jr.

I. The I-W Program

According to provisions that became effective in July 1952, the Selective Service Act of 1948 provides for conscientious objectors to Military Service to be assigned to certain civilian jobs. These jobs are to contribute to the national health, safety or interest.¹ Any nonprofit organization or institution is eligible to apply to its State Selective Service officer for approval to employ conscientious objectors.

The man who for reasons of his conscience chooses civilian employment in lieu of military service is processed by Selective Service and given a I-O classification instead of I-A, when he becomes eligible for drafting. Upon being assigned to a civilian job he is placed in Selective Service class I-W.

Approximately two-thirds of all men who chose I-W service during the first three years of the operation of this program were members of some group of Mennonites. This paper is concerned primarily with the witness of these Mennonite I-W men.

II. Location and Service of Men

One of the outstanding features of the I-W program is its lack of definite statistical information at any given time. A man is assigned to his job by his local board. The local board then forwards the information that he has been assigned to the State Director of Selective Service, who in turn forwards the information to National Selective Service in Washington D.C. As a result of this process the National Selective Service office usually does not have information about the assignment of a man until two or three months later. In one case at least as long as eighteen months was involved in this process.

In comparing the figures released by Selective Service for the number of men having served I-W assignments during the first three years of the program with the figures released periodically from this office one finds considerable divergence. Consequently, comparative figures are given in this report as compiled by the I-W Services Office of the Mennonite Central Committee on May 19, 1955.

On that date 1953 Mennonite men were known to be in service. These were divided among the various Mennonite groups as follows:

Mennonite Church (MC) and Conservative Menn.	1016	53	%
Old Order Amish Mennonite	273	14	
General Conference Mennonite	285	14.5	
Mennonite Brethren	52	2.5	
Church of God in Christ Mennonite	115	6	
Brethren in Christ	65	3.5	
Other Mennonite Groups	147	7.5	

These men were employed by institutions and organizations in 186 different cities. If these cities are divided into four groups according to the 1950 census figure the following distribution of the I-W men results:

In cities with a popu. over 500,000	439	24.	%
In cities with a popu. between 100,000 & 500,000	415	22.5	
In cities with a popu. between 30,000 & 100,000	294	16	
In cities with a popu. of less than 30,000	689	37.5	

The significant factor seems to be that 62.5% of the Mennonite I-W men are in cities with a population of over 30,000 persons. The problems they face are the common problems of the urban worker. The opportunities for study, recreation, and Christian witnessing are the unique opportunities offered by an urban community.

Another significant factor influencing the activities and witness of the Mennonite I-W men is their employment. According to a study conducted by J. S. Schultz,² for the Mennonite Central Committee in 1954, and based on 1731 men or about 60% return of questionnaires to Mennonite I-W men, the following types of work were being done:

Hospital attendants	781	45	%
Maintenance work	269	15.5	
Specialized service	254	14.5	
Housekeeping	203	11.5	
Farming	118	7	
Office	99	5.5	
Dairy herd testers	15	1	

Considering the type of institution in which they were working, the breakdown for 1743 men is:

Mental Hospitals	666	38	
General & other special Hospitals	687	39.5	
Schools	159	9	
Community Service	113	6.5	
Other	119	7	

Of these institutions 959 of 1724 or 55% were under local state, or federal government control, 340 or 20% were under Protestant control, 116, or 7% Catholic.

III. Background of Men

By comparison it is also worthwhile to consider the background of these I-W men. Many fellows went into service soon after school and so had no previous occupational experience. According to the Schultz study of the 1782 men reporting 493 or 27.5% had no previous regular employment. 1024 men, 57% reported that the I-W job was different from the type of employment in which they were previously engaged. One might assume that the occupations of I-W men before entering I-W Service were comparable to the occupations of members of the Mennonite Church of all ages. In 1950, 39.9%³ of these were farmers, 6.3% were in building trades, and less than 4% were connected with the medical profession.

It is therefore significant that the majority of I-W men are finding a new employment experience in their term of service. This personal adjustment will obviously affect their witness.

The Schultz study revealed 76.5% of the men entering I-W service to be single and 16% of them becoming married during their service.

The majority of men, 82% in service were in the 20 to 24 age range. Forty-one% were 21 or 22.

The educational level of the men becomes an important factor in their ability to contribute to a positive Mennonite witness. 28.5% had only an eighth grade education or less, 55% had finished high school and only 7.5% had completed college.

The over-all witness and impression that the I-W man leaves at his place of service is affected to no small degree by his experience and attitudes before entering I-W service. It is virtually impossible to give an objective evaluation of this background. The Schultz study inquired into this aspect of the man's history, but these results coming from the man himself, and from only about 60% of those given questionnaires makes it of doubtful value. One can best understand this aspect of a man's experience by looking at his own home congregation. There are in most Mennonite congregations men who live completely above reproach as well as those who leave questions about their character, men who are active in church activities and those who show little or no interest. The result of these varied backgrounds on the witness of the I-W group as a whole, is by no means directly related to the percentage distribution of the different types. A customer seeing one rotten strawberry in a box will probably not buy the whole box.

Likewise, one shining diamond in a jewelry store window may cause the window shopper to stop and examine the whole window display.

IV. Persons Contacted by I-W Men

It is not possible to get an accurate picture of the relative number of persons of different classes contacted by I-W men. However, there are several distinct groups which represent a significant degree of contact.

The large number of men working in mental hospitals find themselves in contact with what frequently is a transient class of persons. Many attendants, maintenance men and household workers in mental hospitals continue in these jobs because they are unable or unwilling to find more permanent, better paying jobs. The average gross monthly salary for untrained men in U.S. hospitals was only \$162 in 1954.⁴ Even though many hospitals have raised their salaries in an effort to attract better personnel, one gets the impression on visiting their institution that the bulk of their employees is still a transient class of persons.

There is a sizable group of I-W men employed in general hospitals which work side by side with professional people such as nurses, doctors, and administrative personnel.

In all types of work there is some relationship to administration and those who are responsible for the employment of personnel and operation of the organization. The personal contacts with such persons is usually quite limited, but the witness of the total life and work is perhaps most powerfully felt by this group of persons.

Of the 62.5% of men working in cities with a population of over 30,000, most of them probably live in what Zorbaugh⁵ calls "the dweller in furnished rooms." The Schultz study indicated that 56% of the I-W men made their own arrangements for living quarters. The "dwellers in furnished rooms" comprise a class of people which lack any significant ties to a given group. About 50% of this class are single men and as high as 40% may be childless married people—a large number of which represent common-law marriages. This group of persons is a mobile and anonymous group which has very little contact or communication among itself. The presence of a Mennonite youth with a strong group tie in this class is a sharp contrast, but the influence is not a one-way street. Zorbaugh states that the independence and anonymity of this group is a result of mutual distrust of each other. The direct witness of the I-W man to this group is therefore, not as great as it might seem it should be when viewed through the eyes of one acclimated to a rural culture.

V. The Activities of I-W Men

With an understanding of the background and consequent adjustments that the average Mennonite I-W man faces in going into an urban situation, and with a general picture of the persons with which he will come in contact, we can consider the action of these men and the witness it leaves in the urban situation.

One consistently gets a favorable evaluation of the quality and quantity of work performed by I-W men. There are, of course, exceptions, but in the main, persons responsible for employment are impressed by the excellent performance of the men on the job. This is in my opinion one of the most significant and effective testimonies that the men can leave to the administrative groups of persons. The average I-W man has difficulty in adequately explaining his beliefs and convictions to this more highly educated group of persons. In many cases he does not have the opportunity to attempt an explanation. However, the silent witness of a job well done leaves an indelible mark of merit for the man and his beliefs in the mind of a person used to seeing slipshod performance from his employees.

On the other hand this generally superior performance by the men is usually respected but not totally appreciated by the fellow employees who are thus put in a not too flattering a contrast. Two diverse standards of operation have difficulty in existing in an institution without a tendency in both to change toward the mean. In many cases the increased expectancy of an employer or supervisor is not appreciated by other employees. However, the impact of persons doing an "honest day's dork" leaves an impact on the most sluggardly person which challenges the best in him.

The recreational activities of I-W men probably do more to fulfill a need in their own lives than they do to leave an influence—positive, or negative—on those about them. The fact that I-W men choose their recreational pursuits with ethical principles in mind is a difficult concept for the transient class of persons to comprehend. The I-W man has an obvious adjustment problem himself to find suitable activities for his leisure hours in a big city. It may appear to many from the group from which he came, that he sacrifices many principles in finding his activities. In fact, many Mennonite communities seem to expect a "wild oats" session by I-W men. For the sake of the record it should be pointed out that in the majority of cases the I-W man does not lay aside his Christian training and principles in choosing his leisure time activities. However, to a morally sick class of persons such as the I-W frequently contacts, to a group in which drunkenness, dope, immodesty, homosexual activity and petty crime of all kinds are not uncommon, a person who lives cleanly and refrains from such activities gives a strategic witness.

To further substantiate the suggestion that the recreational activities of I-W men probably do more for their own welfare than anything else one needs only to consider their situation. The need for physical exercise in a work which demands little physical activity and frequently much mental strain is obvious. The need for individual and group Bible study and worship is equally clear. It is not surprising to find the first request for assistance from a service organization, to usually be for help in finding good recreation and help in Bible or doctrinal studies.

The results of direct efforts for evangelism in urban cultures by I-W men do not seem on the surface to be significantly successful. We do not have an adequate means of judging success in this area, however, and certainly as Mennonite Churches we have been comparatively unsuccessful in urban church building and evangelism in the past. As a church we have undoubtedly been guilty of the condemnation of Abell⁶ who asserts that Protestant Christianity has so rigidly separated body and spirit, and insisted on spiritual regeneration alone that it has failed to meet the social problem of the low class urban dweller. It is in this, however, that perhaps the urban experience of our I-W men is opening the door to a new success in evangelistic outreach. These men are by the nature of their work vitally interested in the welfare of their fellow men. Being forced to live in the "rooming house area" is making them acquainted with the problems, need and desires of this class of persons. Although the tangible evidence of successful evangelistic efforts is not large at this time the latent factors for success are overwhelming.

This is not to imply that I-W men are not attempting direct evangelism. Many men report presenting Christ to fellow employees and residents of the area in which they live. Many men, although probably not the majority, indicate that they engage in tract distribution, erection of Gospel signs, street meetings, summer Bible school, Sunday school teaching and other evangelistic techniques commonly used by Mennonite folks. Of significance is the number of men who express a definite personal Christian experience, but do not participate in some of these activities because they do not seem to be effective means of reaching many people. These same men express interest in new methods, including various social service techniques, of making Christ known, and indicate understanding attitudes toward problems of their fellow city dwellers.

There is a variety of "plus service" activities that I-W men have engaged in. The impact and effect of these activities is equally effective I believe to the needy urban dweller as to any other needy person. One cannot present a discussion of activities that leaves a witness, without mentioning the effect of the total life

pattern of a Christian youth in a metropolitan area. Employers, employees, and to a lesser extent, other community residents, are all impressed and to some degree influenced—if it is only to give them a more educated guilt complex—by the consistent genuinely Christian life of the majority of the I-W men. It goes without saying that the lives of the inconsistent men are, because of the context of their C.O. profession, more disgusting to this group of people than the same acts would be by persons who did not profess to be Christians.

As a result of the I-W experience some men—not a large group—are locating themselves more or less permanently in the city in which they have served their I-W assignment in order to continue to witness to the people there. This type of consecration and insight into the possibilities of urban evangelism is to be encouraged and assisted, it would seem to me.

VI. Summary and Evaluation

It is clear that the majority of Mennonite I-W men are fulfilling their assignments in urban situations. They come into the city without a good understanding of, or preparation for, city life. They are not unusually well educated; they find in the city a class and type of people which they have had very little contact and which they do not understand. They bring with them a background of group participation from which they frequently tend to rebel, but from which they find a strength to meet the challenges and adjustments for a different way of life. A considerable portion of their two year term is utilized in adapting themselves to their new situation. It would seem probably that this adjustment period will become shorter as the returning I-W men incidentally inculcates in the younger men of our churches an understanding of the urban situation and experience. In the adjustment period of the I-W man a witness is of course given to those about him. The particular effect of that witness depends on the individuals involved and on the specific events and characteristics associated with it. The largest group of persons in whom this has been an open expression of conversion or acceptance into a Mennonite church, has been to young ladies who married I-W men, I believe. There are no figures available to substantiate or refute this opinion, but it appears that the great majority of marriages of Mennonite I-W men to non-Mennonite girls result in the girl becoming a member of a Mennonite church.

Two things seem to stand out as important consequences of the urban I-W program. The first is a significant witness in the form of honest careful work, well done. The concept of what an employee can do has been raised, even if only slightly, in the minds of both employers and employees in many cases.

The second factor which seems to have considerable significance is the new understanding, interest, and possibilities this gives the Mennonite Church in meeting the needs of the urban masses. Certainly the leadership of our churches will want to continue to consult and work with this group of the church which has gained valuable insights which should help to spread the Kingdom of God.

¹*Code of Federal Regulations*, Title 32, Chapter XVI, Part 1660 and Selective Service Act of 1948 as amended. February, 1952.

²Preliminary Report of 1-W Program Evaluation Study As Submitted to MCC Executive Committee. March, 1955.

³Mennonite Occupations in 1950—A report prepared in July, 1952, by the Mennonite Research Foundation, Goshen, Indiana.

⁴*Hospital Salary Survey*, 1954, American Hospital Association, Chicago.

⁵*The Urban Community*, Edited by Ernest W. Bergess, University of Chicago Press, 1925. p. 98ff. Paper by H. W. Zorbaugh.

EVANGELIZING THE URBAN INDUSTRIAL WORKER

By Leland Harder

I. The Nature of Evangelizing Anyone

"In the beginning was the Word (Logos), and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. . . . And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." (John 1:1, 14)

I understand that presenting Christ as the Logos, the Gospel writer was using the current mode of thought, speech, and life of his intended readers. The candidates for evangelization in this case were Greek rationalists—recipients of a rich heritage of philosophy and vocabulary. The Evangelist (tradition declares him to be John) was not himself a philosopher, but he became a philosopher in order to win philosophers. Desiring to evangelize the Greeks and knowing their search for a better definition of the Logos, a key word in their terminology, he took from everything he knew about the *Gospel* the materials to provide the Greeks with a definition of the Logos which they could accept as final. The theme of his message to the Greeks was really quite simple—"The Logos became flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." The Evangelist is not interpreting Jesus by using the idea of the Logos; he rather takes the position that the only intelligible understanding of the Logos is to be found in Jesus. His "was not a new evangel, but a new evangelism."¹ William Temple writes that in appropriating the idea of the Logos into his preaching John "is not proclaiming unfamiliar truth; rather he is seeking common ground with his readers. It is of no use (he writes) to tell the Hellenistic Ephesians that the Messiah is come; they are not expecting any Messiah and would not be interested; it would be like trying to excite an English audience by proclaiming the arrival of the Mahdi."²

To bring Temple up to date in reference to evangelizing the 20th Century urban industrial worker, one might say to begin with—"It is of no use to tell modern factory workers that the Logos has become flesh; they are not searching for the Logos, and would not be interested." The first essential, then, in evangelizing anyone is to know his mode of thought and life, to find common ground with him, and to let the old Gospel speak to new needs. What is needful is not a new evangel, but a new evangelism. Someone

has provocatively defined this evangelism as "the total Gospel for the total man in his total environment."

But in evangelizing anyone, it isn't "total" all at once, and here lies another essential of evangelization, the thing Samuel Shoemaker calls "whittling out the point of responsibility."³ This has been achieved when that part of an "evangelee's" need (or sin) that is recognized by him, is touched by that part of the evangel which is accepted by him. The crux of evangelizing anyone lies in whether or not his real sins and needs are gotten at, and whether he is brought to a real decision and surrender to Christ. The process of evangelization begins and continues at the time that a person (anyone) "surrenders as much of himself as he can, to as much of Christ as he understands."⁴ In other words there might be compartments in his life (job, friends, home) that are not wholly surrendered at the time that he tells the Lord he will do from henceforth as much of His will as he sees. This is particularly true in evangelizing the urban industrial worker because the compartmentalizing of his life is so complex and ominous.

II. The Life of the Urban Industrial Worker

"After these things Paul departed from Athens and came to Corinth; and found a certain Jew named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla . . . and came unto them. And because he was of the same craft, he abode with them, and wrought: for by occupation they were tentmakers." (Acts 18:1-3)

The craftsmanship of the time of Paul and as a matter of fact up to the time of the Industrial Revolution is in marked contrast to the 20th Century urban industrialism. It was his birth in Tarsus which determined Paul's trade, since the staple manufacture of that city was weaving, first into twine or rope, then into tent-covers and garments, the hair which was supplied by the goat flocks of the Taurus.⁵ It was a situation in which the industry was locally owned and in which the owner was influenced in his treatment of workers by local community values and by the fact that many of the workers were friends and neighbors of the owner. In modern urban industrialism⁶ there is not only a much greater social distance between management and labor, but usually also a special distance when a manufacturing enterprise is absentee-controlled, which tends to make the division between its subordinate and superordinate personnel inexorable, and set all policies in strict accord with the cold profit-making principle. Handicrafts in the earlier period, moreover, were characterized by a developed hierarchy of jobs based on degrees of skill. When an apprentice through long training and practice attained proficiency at his job, he became a master craftsman and stood at the top of a skill hierarchy where great prestige was attached and where he was

economically secure because the services of the master craftsman were always in demand. The situation of a worker in a modern factory is quite different from all this. No longer is it possible for him to start in low-skilled jobs and progressively prepare himself for higher-skilled jobs, since the vast majority of jobs can only be classified as low-skilled.

There are primarily two reasons by this breakdown of the organization of industry around creativity of skill. *One* is the tendency toward greater and greater division of labor, which means that individual jobs are broken into two or more components which are thereafter performed by different individuals, and the factory workers themselves are trapped in the lowest caste of a complex industrial system. Usually we think of the division of labor merely as the splitting up of jobs into more specific tasks, but this leads to serious misconceptions. If a job is divided into two parts, not only are the activities split, but also the scope of the interrelations permitted the individuals by the new jobs are curtailed. By increasing limitations on working activities, through the division of labor, management of modern factories has made more effective the operation of controls in accord with the cold profit motive.

The second reason for the loss of skill and craftsmanship, together with the accompanying loss of creativity and security for the industrial worker, is the increasing mechanization of the technological processes which tends more and more to make the workman perform routine operations. As new machines are brought into the factory, more and more of the skills of the workers are absorbed by the machines, and real craftsmanship loses its meaning as the workers are forced to conform to a set pattern of activity attuned to the rhythm and tempo of the machine. The exceedingly limited scope of the technological activity permitted the modern industrial worker makes it relatively easy for a foreman to maintain discipline because he can immediately detect any deviation from the permitted patterns of behavior. This also alters the character of the relations between a foreman and the worker from what it was in the handicraft days. Today a foreman need seldom be a working boss, familiar with the techniques of the job; he may be merely a disciplinarian or enforcement officer, forcing set patterns of working behavior on the worker. Workers today tend to feel, with considerable justification, that even their immediate superiors may not understand or care about them. And so, all of these factors tend to make the urban industrial situation confused, tense, contributory to suspicion and conflict between workers and management, and disruptive of the urban person in particular and the urban community in general.

The mechanization of industry has had an adverse effect not

only upon the relation of the worker to his superiors, but also upon the kind of social solidarity of the workers themselves, which would contribute to their well-being. A worker is so integrated to the machine at which he works that he has little time or opportunity for inter-personal relations with other workers. Even though the spacial distance between workers may be small, the exactitude of the demands of the machine precludes conversation while working. The effect of this is to prevent strong social solidarities from developing between workers on the job and to make the de-socialization valuable to management as just one more means of control over the workers. This is further documented by the fact that the degree of proficiency demanded by a job bears no predictable relationship to the rate of pay, which is determined more by whether or not the workers have sufficient solidarity to bargain for wages.

This brings us to another aspect of the modern industrial system. What has been denied the workers as individuals in working relations, they have sought to gain by collective action through union membership. Collective action gives the workers a bargaining power with management which they lost as individuals with the coming of division of labor and mechanization. The worker's sense of security is strengthened by the knowledge that he and his kind are firmly banded together to defend their common interests against the conflicting interests of the owner-management group. To the workers the union has come to serve not only as a means of achieving a higher wage but also as a composite symbol of protection for all the undefinable social values that he cherishes. Unfortunately, the unions have also showed up in serious weaknesses which have still left the worker in a critical state of unsolved need. The centralization of control of the unions outside a single industry has helped to breed the very kinds of power and intimidation that were being fought in management. Moreover, labor unions, comprising a large number of individuals with little at stake in the way of investments, have found it difficult to maintain the interest of the workers while they are reasonably satisfied with working conditions and not directly related to those at the top who make the union policy and decisions.

The industrial worker's situation has also had, of course, a very great effect on his life in his home and community. In his diary of personal experiences in working in Chicago industry, Curtis Janzen refers to the two separate spheres in which the worker operates: in one he works and in the other he dwells. This compartmentalization of his life is perhaps what Louis Wirth was speaking about when he said that the typical urbanite "lives in a place where he would rather not live and works in a place where he would rather not work." He get up by the din of the alarm

and after a hectic breakfast joins thousands of his comrades on vehicles of public transportation to work. His work is boredom and the final whistle finds him already lined up to punch out. Another hour on crowded transportation and he re-enters the other sphere of his life again. And of what sort of activity does this sphere consist? In his study of workers of a modern factory, W. Lloyd Warner demonstrated that workers have much less social mobility and inter-personal relations in their home-community than do other adults of comparable economic status.⁷ The worker comes home to supper, a couple hours of television, and bed. All week long he is anxious for the week end, or the day off; but when the respite comes he hardly knows how to use the leisure time that he has earned in a way that gives meaning to the whole of his life. The Christian evangel is not something that was intended to be separate from the whole of one's life. It is meant to be integrated into one's work, home, and social and recreational life. What, then, is needed in the evangelization of the urban industrial worker?

III. Evangelizing the Urban Industrial Worker

"Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." (Matt. 28:19-20)

Let's begin by describing briefly several individual cases, which are composite representations rather than situations of particular persons.

Number 1. *Frank Henderson*. Frank Henderson would appear to be like any other urban industrial worker. He puts in his eight hours as a crane operator at Jones and Jenner Steel Corporation, gets union pay, and is well spoken of by his foreman. But off the job he is an alcoholic of the non-violent, non-derelict variety. His abuse of his family, rather than being physical, is partly the fact that he spends money needed for subsistence on drink. To insure at least that he won't lose his money at the dice table, his wife accompanies him to the tavern evenings and pretends to drink with him as he consumes his evening dosage. Frank and his brother came to the city from their rural town. The brother worked his way through law school, and is now an attorney in a respected law firm. Frank started right off with Jones and Jenner Steel with high hopes of working his way up to the top in the corporation. He has been with the company for sixteen years, and outside of enjoying a certain seniority and a substantial wage, he is doing the same job that he did 16 years ago, with a few minor variations. Outside of his immediate family he seems friendless and alone in the complex environment of the city. On the job he (and 90 per cent of all the steel workers in his plant) has to work all three

shifts at one week intervals, supposedly for technological reasons, and he has little chance for social relationships with other workers because he is up in the crane by himself most of the working day. Frank Henderson becomes a candidate for Christian evangelism following the funeral of his wife, at which time he seeks the help of the church in his state of deeply felt need. What kind of program is needed to evangelize Frank Henderson?

Number 2. *Jane Olmstead*. Jane Olmstead, age 48, is a long distance operator for Bell Telephone Company. She came to this country as a child with her stepparents from Norway. Determined to avoid the economic dependency experienced by her parents, she quit high school to go to work in the factory. Five years later, at the age of 20, she went to work for the telephone company, and has been there for the past twenty-eight years. She has the reputation of being the most indispensable operator in the company, and also of being the most bitter and hateful. With scorn she tells about how the supervisor stands over the operators and constantly barks at them to increase their speed of completing calls, and she resents such pressure at the same time that she feverishly pushes ahead of all the other girls. Shortly after beginning with the company, Jane married Harry Olmstead, a telegrapher, and they had two children, both of whom are not married and living elsewhere. Recently in an extended period of sickness and hospitalization, Harry accepted Christ and joined the church. There was such great evidence of transformation in his attitudes and actions that Jane was attracted to the Christian life and fellowship herself. But sensing the great personal price involved in being a disciple of Christ, she hesitated to take the step that she correctly suspected would mean a radical change in her own character and behavior. "Do you mean to say that if I became a Christian, I would have to love the woman next door and the supervisor at work? I hate them!" she would say. When invited again to commit her life to Christ, she said, "Right now, all I can do is to commit my life to the telephone company." What kind of strategy will achieve the evangelization of Jane Olmstead?

Number 3. *Richard Turrey*. Richard Turrey is 28 and his last job was with Armour and Company meat packers. He worked in the cutting department. As the hog came into his division from the slaughtering room on an overhead hook and chain, it was cut up into the pieces appropriate for marketing. Richard's job was to separate with a 2-hand curved knife the pork loin from the back section as the carcass passed his cubicle. Richard is a small-built man of meek and timid temperament. He married a woman whom doctors have referred unsuccessfully to neuropsychiatric clinics for treatment of a mental disorder that she has manifested since early childhood. They have no children of their own, but they treat their

Great Dane dog as though it were a child. They seldom left their apartment evenings and week ends and had few friends, until through a series of providential circumstances they became active participants in the fellowship and ministry of the church. But just when it seemed as though things were looking up for them, Richard was laid off at work during a slack season, and they were forced to move because they were unable to keep up the \$95. a month rent payments. They sought the advice of the church. They wanted to stay in the community if they could where for the first time they had found friends in the church, but there wasn't anything for rent within their means. In desperation they were toying with the idea of returning to Pennsylvania where Richard grew up and where he still had relatives. But if they could find another place to rent in the city, Richard could probably get a job at the Mint Leaf Gum Company, where an uncle of his was a foreman. What sort of help must the church be prepared to give a couple like the Richard Turrey's in the solution of their problems of housing and employment in the larger process of their evangelization?

Nothing but a change in our perspective and strategy will enable us to meet the needs of typical urban industrial men and women such as these three. I shall merely suggest what I feel are important elements of a strategy that is needed.

1. *A Vital Inter-Personal Fellowship.* The loneliness of men and women in our big cities is tragic. The tragedy lies, on the one hand, in the fact that in their desperate desire for fellowship they do things they would not otherwise do and turn for relief to people and places and activities in which there is no relief but only a greater sense of not belonging. And on the other hand loneliness in the city is tragic in the fact that everywhere in the city there are churches which could but utterly fail to provide the spiritual home for thousands of lost people. It is often embarrassing to churches that co-operate in programs of fellowship evangelism to discover that outside of a rigid and formal program of Sunday and midweek services, there are very few fellowship-centered functions in the church to invite the unchurched person to. Or if there are organizations within the church, they fail to be a means of an inter-personal fellowship for the outsider because the climate of such organizations is not one of acceptance and inclusiveness. In our new strategy, in addition to formal worship services, we would use sports, drama, discussion meetings, dinners, *et cetera*, all as means for God, like the father in the parable of the prodigal, to welcome some wanderer home. In many instances, it would be inter-personal functions rather than formal worship services that would be a means God could use in the evangelization of urban people.

2. *Dynamic Personal Evangelism.* A working philosophy of this

kind of strategy might be: "To reach as many people as possible through a broad program of church-centered fellowship functions, and to win them one by one to Christ as Savior and Lord." Dynamic personal evangelism is the major weapon in building the effective church among urban working people. Jesus' one big inclusive command was, "Follow me." The sons of men are to become disciples first. Christ is the center, or self is the center. All problems of frustration and futility in life find their solution in a wholehearted self-surrender to Jesus Christ. Alcoholism, a very common by-product of modern urban industrialism, is but one example of all such personal problems. To think of alcoholism as a sickness rather than as a sin (i.e., as a result of a separation from God) is to confuse the issue. As Thomas Richards asks, "If alcoholism is a sickness, rather than a moral problem, where is the doctor to make him well and the treatment that will provide the cure or the remedy for this sickness?"⁸ In churches that have a dynamic program of personal evangelism there is sufficient evidence of the power of God in the redemption and transformation of human personalities⁹ to indicate to the thousands of churches in which the power of God experienced in conversion and discipleship is inaccessible as a means of evangelization.

3. *Means of Spiritual Growth through Christian Nurture.* In a program of evangelizing the urban worker, it is just as important to provide for the nurturing of those who are begun in the Christian faith as it is to get them started. Too many, in fact, who experience a valid beginning die a premature spiritual death because through neglect or inadequate program they are not taught to make use of the "means of grace" Christ has left us in His church. The Word, the Sacraments, and the practice of prayer are all primary means of spiritual growth. But unfortunately they do not become means of growth *ipso facto* by direct inculcation. To teach the Bible verse by verse, and even to measure by examination the quantity of factual knowledge gained by a person does not at all insure the involvement of emotion and will along with intellect that is essential to spiritual growth. It is only recently that great strides have been taken in pedagogy in the so-called nondirective approach, and if taken seriously in Christian Education it is destined to revolutionize our program of evangelization. Sunday schools in particular need thoroughgoing revision before they will become effective in the program of the city church. Doubtless some form of the group discussion method (which is really the Biblical concept of intra-church witnessing and sharing implied in the Fourth Gospel and Acts) will be the most effective tool for Christian nurture.

4. *Developing a Community of Witnesses.* It is impossible to underestimate the importance of the so-called "point ten work" in

the success of Alcoholics Anonymous in its program of redeeming alcoholics. This is simply the function of spreading the message to new candidates, whose need for it is known to be a life-and-death matter. For similar reasons, it is just as important to tell a new Christian disciple, who has just committed his life to Christ, to go out and tell his old pagan friends what he has done, as it is to tell him to begin reading the Scriptures and to keep a daily quiet hour. As yet I have said nothing about the church's prospects of evangelizing urban industry as a system, primarily because I take a dim view of the possibility of the churches having any great *direct* therapeutic effect in the labor-management sickness. But the church which comes to count among its members a growing proportion of individual witnesses saved out of urban industry and going back into urban industry can have unmeasurable effect toward the redemption of industry. In his essay on the topic, "God and a Steel Worker,"¹⁰ S. M. Shoemaker describes the effect that one transformed steel worker by the name of Dave had in the Homestead Plant of the United States Steel Company in Pittsburgh, by bearing a creative Christian witness to hundreds of co-workers, one by one, over a period of months. Dave not only showed the way of Christ to men individually but he bore his witness in the heat of labor-management strife; and with the blessings of management he organized daily noontime meetings using the discussion method to which hundreds came. He didn't do these things as a single disciple throwing himself against the pagan world; he did these things as a member of a community of disciples whose spiritual birthplace and home was the Calvary Church of Pittsburgh. Like the church at Pentecost, Dave and his spiritual brothers caught a kind of life in Christ that made them want to carry this faith to everyone else they could touch; and with less than this kind of zeal our mission to the city cannot succeed.

5. *Church-centered Social Welfare.* Any program of evangelizing urban workers that fails to minister to the whole of their human needs is an inadequate program. This is expressly Biblical. In the picture of the Last Judgment in Matthew 25, we find this basis for judgment: whether we fed the hungry, welcomed the stranger, visited the sick and imprisoned and clothed the naked. In listing these humanitarian deeds I take it that Jesus was not attempting to be exhaustive. In the city the problem might be housing, and our Christian mutual aid in the acquisition of a home for our urban brother is one extension of Jesus' list. The problem might be health, and the provision of medical care through the building of Christian hospitals is another extension. The problem might be an alternative to the public education of city children, and the building of Christian parochial schools in the city is a third extension. To some

these materialistic aspects of a program of evangelizing the urban population seem superfluous, but it is precisely this combination of preaching and service (in the form of schools and hospitals especially) that has made our foreign missionary program so effective. The key in adapting this combination of evangelism and service to American cities as well as to foreign communities is to make all forms of social welfare an intricate part of evangelism and evangelization.

Finally, *An Over-all Planned Strategy*. We are dragging our feet so pitifully in city missions that it is only with the greatest stretch of the imagination that we could say we have any strategy at all. Because the city is so close to the front door of every rural home, it hasn't even dawned on most of our people that the city is just as much mission territory as any dark jungle of Africa. As Don Smucker has said, the city is a "hostile environment." It is time we took stock of the situation and mobilized the resources that we need to make some strong beachheads. We have gained valuable experience in foreign missions which can aid in the new evangelization at home. The concept of the mission compound, known in home mission terminology as the group ministry, is a must. As Hugh Hostetler, one of our few city missionaries, has stated, "One man or a couple working alone in an area such as East Harlem in New York soon gets overwhelmed by the problems if he is faithful to his Christian insight. To us a group ministry is more than an association of ministers. It involves a disciplined life together for mutual support and criticism and evaluation of our work. We mutually agree that insofar as God has led us, city work in depressed areas is our life work. To use our abilities to the fullest, we must team up with others. The group ministry includes more than ordained ministers, but other full time church workers as well; and eventually, we hope, doctors, lawyers, social workers, all of whom are drawn to committing their lives to Christ through serving in such work. We determine our salaries as a group, trying to follow the rule of economic need only, and not seniority of educational attainments. And we employ a common lectionary and group meetings to enable us to grow together spiritually, through common sets of spiritual discipline. As the group ministry approach is sought in other cities and situations, we hope concrete bonds can be established with each, all of us operating under common disciplines. For unchurched depressed urban areas are a national problem."

And so in the light of this concept of a group ministry, instead of one or two or three workers operating independently of each other in the city, we must have twenty or thirty persons working together as one team in a city, with provision for furloughs, and families similar in some respects perhaps to the foreign mission-

ary program. If the personnel or financial resources deemed necessary turn out to be more than one denomination can supply, we must begin to think more about the possibilities of an interdenominational, or at least an inter-Mennonite, approach, such as we already have in our mission work in the Belgian Congo. And above all, our approach must be indigenous to the urban industrial culture involving the complete abandonment of any attitudes of socio-economic superiority on our part.

The statistical facts invite us to face the urban challenge. By 1970, 80 per cent of the American people will be living and working in cities. In Chicago, today, four out of every ten workers are employed in manufacturing. Over all, Chicago's industrial output has quadrupled since 1939, climbing to \$18.3 billion in 1953. The cities can be lost to the Protestant Church as easy as the Mediterranean world was lost to Rome by the 5th Century A.D. Or on the brighter side, with a new strategy and a new divine power, the great population of urban industrial workers can be evangelized in a way that our present experience could not enable us to predict. "Lo, I am with you alway," said Jesus. That is one reality the new urban era will not alter.

¹Julius Price Love, *The Gospel and the Gospels*. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1953, p. 152.

²William Temple, *Readings in the Fourth Gospel*.

³Samuel M. Shoemaker, "Making Faith Alive and Relevant to Other People," *The Evangel* (December, 1952), p. 419.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 420.

⁵F. W. Farrar, *The Life and Work of St. Paul*. (London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin and Company, 1879, p. 23.

⁶Beginning with this paragraph through the first paragraph of page 7 I am following very closely the profound analysis of W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low in their volume, *The Social System of the Modern Factory*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947. Yankee City Series No. 4.

⁷*Ibid.*, Chapter ———.

⁸Thomas B. Richards, "The Minister and the Bum," *Pastoral Psychology*. (May, 1955), pp. 11-12.

⁹One notable example is Calvary Episcopal Church of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. See S. M. Shoemaker, *By the Power of God*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 45-59.

THE DUTCH MENNONITES AND URBANISM

By Cornelius Krahn

Recently *Der Bote* carried an article entitled "Verstädterung der Mennoniten" (May 26, 1954) in which the author presents a brief summary dealing with the movement of the Mennonites of Canada from the country to the city. The Canadian census of 1951 reveals that 20 per cent of the Mennonites of Canada live in towns and cities. Of the 33,419 Mennonites of Manitoba 11,248 or nearly one-third live in towns and cities. Winnipeg alone had 3,460 Mennonites. Twenty-five years ago there were hardly any Mennonites living in cities in Canada. The picture has changed considerably during the last generation. The situation in the United States will likely be much the same. There is a definite trend from the country to the city among the Mennonites of North America. This is not new in some European countries.

I. URBANISM IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

The Mennonite movement in Switzerland and The Netherlands started primarily among urban people. Zürich, Bern, Strassburg, Emden, Amsterdam, Leeuwarden, Groningen, Münster, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Brussels, etc., were comparatively large cities in which the Anabaptist movement was born or found an early foothold. In southern Europe (Switzerland, South Germany, Austria) the Mennonite movement in the cities was crushed and survival was possible only in remote areas. Not so in the Low Countries. Although the persecution was very severe and thousands of the Anabaptists died a martyr's death and many thousands fled, in most of the cities they survived first as an underground movement, later as a tolerated minority and finally as a recognized religious group. Many of the cities have had more than a thousand members for many generations. Today Amsterdam has over five thousand Mennonites, Haarlem over three thousand and many other cities more than a thousand. They are being served by two to six ministers. Urbanism among the Mennonites of the Low Countries is as old as Mennonitism itself. It is true that particularly the two provinces Groningen and Friesland have had a movement from the country to the city but even in these provinces the city church is as old as the rural congregation. There would however be a point in investigating how the urban life of the past centuries compares with modern city life. By doing so we would possibly find that life in the city of three to four hundred years ago was more like the rural life of our day. In fact some of the character-

istics even of the rural life of our day were foreign to the city life of that time. Our means of communication: radio, telephone, television, the modern press, etc., were not even dreamed of a few generations ago.

Economic and Social Background

The question of the social and economic background of the Mennonites of The Netherlands has occupied many scholars. It is closely related to the one we are discussing. Some of the Marxian scholars such as Karl Kautzky,¹ H. Pirenne,² K. Vos,³ Kuttner,⁴ and most recently A. F. Mellink⁵ have considered the Anabaptist movement of the Low Countries as a revolutionary uprising of the proletariat of that day. This makes Jan van Leyden and Jan van Geelen forerunners of Karl Marx and Lenin. The radical wing of the Anabaptists is considered to be the genuine and original movement while the peaceful adherents of Menno Simons are considered to be degenerate. From this point of view the Mennonite historiography from "van Braght to Kühler" is perverted. Anabaptism is made the "Protestantism of the poor." This is a biased approach to the subject matter. Nevertheless we must take note of the following. W. L. C. Coenen has made a study of the social and economic background of the Anabaptist martyrs in The Netherlands. She lists a total of 161 martyrs and classifies them according to 58 occupations. On the list we find 27 weavers, 17 tailors, 13 shoemakers, 6 sailors, 5 carpenters, 5 goldsmiths, 5 hatmakers, 4 bricklayers, 3 bakers, 3 leather dealers, 3 teachers, 3 saddlers, 3 potters. In addition to these many other occupations are named of which there are only one or two representatives.⁶ Although this is an incomplete list of martyrs the most surprising thing is that not a single farmer is mentioned. Most of them are craftsmen, workers in small industries, common laborers, and small business people. This would indicate that the Anabaptists at least in the southern Low Countries were primarily a movement of the industrial centers and cities of that day. In the northern provinces such as North Holland, Friesland, Groningen, and the German East Friesland, the Mennonite population was also found in rural areas.

Urbanism among the Mennonites of the Low Countries prevailed throughout the four hundred years. It is true many Dutch Mennonites, probably mostly from cities, went to Prussia and from there to Poland and Russia, where most of them settled in rural areas and became tillers of the soil. However, we must remember that many also settled in cities such as Hamburg, Danzig, Marienburg, Elbing, and Königsberg.

Changes and Achievements

Although the majority of the Dutch Mennonites have always been urban they have not remained the same as far as their social, occupational and economic status is concerned. If they ever represented a "Protestantism of the poor" they certainly did not remain the proletariat of the Low Countries. During the Dutch "Golden Age (17th century) the Mennonites became tolerated and began to take part in most of the branches of the economic life of an expending and prosperous little country. Industry, integrity, and other characteristics peculiar of their way of life elevated not only their social status and increased their prosperity but also resulted in active participation and appreciation of cultural values. It would be most interesting to make a study of their appearance in the various branches of business life and the more lucrative occupations. Already during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we find among them men of wealth, leisure, and reputation. Some of the best Dutch writers (Joost van den Vondel) and painters (Jacob and Salomon Ruisdael) were Mennonites or of Mennonite background. During the seventeenth and eighteenth century it was quite common that congregations chose their ministers from the ranks of their physicians which indicates two things. First it was common for young men to study medicine and secondly the congregation looked for a minister with a higher education.

Many of the persecuted and surviving Anabaptists established new industries at the places where they found a refuge. They became the builders of large industries and cities which attracted population from other areas. Examples of this are the towns Aalsmeer (flower industry), Zaan area north of Amsterdam (industry and business),⁷ Krefeld (weaving industry), Gronau (weaving industry), Almelo weaving industry), Emden (weaving and business), Altona-Hamburg (business), etc.

The economic contributions of the Mennonites in some of these industries and cities have been investigated by scholars. Among them are Krefeld,⁸ Gronau,⁹ Leer,¹⁰ and Hamburg.¹¹ Others still need to be studied. In addition to investigating the contributions of the Mennonites and their industries locally we need above all a study of the total. First, this would include such phases as the economic and cultural background of the sixteenth century Anabaptists in The Netherlands in general. Secondly, their gradual transformation from the lower class to the middle class; third, their share in great industries; fourth, their cultural contributions; fifth, the roots of this transformation; and sixth the effects of this development.

Urbanism Today

In checking the list of the Mennonite congregations one is surprised to find that the largest churches are found in the large cities, the middle sized churches are located in smaller towns and as a rule the smallest churches are found in villages. This is probably a somewhat oversimplified statement, nevertheless it is an observation that is, in general, correct. The following are some of the largest congregations: Amsterdam (membership 5,500), Haarlem (3,569), The Hague (3,033), Zaandam (1,194), Groningen (1,186), Leeuwarden (1,070), Utrecht (1,000), Rotterdam (835), Hilversum (760), Arnhem (740), Aalsmeer (731), and Alkmaar (704).¹²

Most of these with the exception of Aalsmeer and Zaandam are large cities. Almost all of these congregations have had an unbroken history since the sixteenth century. Only a few of them as The Hague became extinct and were revived again.

If we were to present the list of congregations with 50 to 250 members they would mostly be congregations of smaller towns and villages, most of which have been in existence for several centuries, only a few of them having been started recently. Does this mean that the Dutch Mennonite congregations prosper best in an urban environment? Not necessarily. The number is not a proof of a strong spiritual and congregational life. Smaller congregations can be much more active. It does however, indicate that most of the early Mennonites of Holland were urban and the absence of a rural vs. urban feeling among them.

Let us now turn to a Mennonite city congregation to make a brief survey of how it originated, developed, and what its present status and activities are. We have chosen for this purpose the Mennonite congregation of Haarlem, which is located in a city of 166,000 and is a capital of the province North Holland.

II. HAARLEM: AN OLD URBAN CHURCH

Background

The congregation of Haarlem originated in 1530. It went through very severe persecution. Few records are available pertaining to the sixteenth century. Karel van Mander, the well-known Mennonite painter and writer lived there (1583-1603). Like many other Mennonite refugees he found shelter in Haarlem. The two famous Ruisdaels came from here. The Willink family came to Haarlem from the northern border of the country and played a prominent role there. Thomas Teyler came from England and was the ancestor of the founder of the Teyler Institute still in existence in Haarlem. A number of nationally known publishing houses were

started by Mennonites in Haarlem long ago and are still in Mennonite hands. Haarlem became a "Mennonite Haarlem." In 1640 the Mennonite congregation was estimated at nearly 5000 members which must have been about 20 per cent of the total population.

Industry, frugality, and integrity helped the Mennonites generally to become well-to-do and socially respected. They were divided like in other towns into many religious subdivisions. There were the Frisians, the Flemish, the Waterlanders, etc. For longer or shorter periods of time there have been twenty different groups with fourteen different meetinghouses. Most of the larger congregations had orphanages and homes for the poor and aged. As in the rest of the country, gradually the old differences that had separated the congregation disappeared and by 1638 they had united into what is now the Haarlem Mennonite Church. At the peak of its prosperity when the Haarlem Mennonite Church had a well organized system of aiding the poor and the aged, the congregation was an attraction for Mennonites living under less fortunate conditions. In times of depression many came to Haarlem and joined the church to find social security.

The Haarlem congregation had some prosperous families who endowed the congregation and its numerous institutions and welfare organizations. Even in our day when one takes a tour through the city one finds numerous Mennonite institutions of past centuries. The congregation had two parochial elementary schools to give orphans and children of poor parents an opportunity to get an education. One of the schools is still in existence.

Haarlem Today

The Haarlem of today and its Mennonite congregation are quite different from what they were some two to three hundred years ago. Today only three per cent of the population are Mennonites. It would be worth while to investigate why the Mennonite congregation did not keep pace with the growth of the population of the city. During the seventeenth century it had an estimated five thousand membership and today it has only some three thousand five hundred. The members are located not only in the city of Haarlem proper but also in the suburbs: Heemstede, Bloemendaal, Sandvoort and the surrounding flower bulb districts. The congregation has two church buildings, one erected in 1683 and another one in 1955. In addition to this it has some meeting places in some of the districts mentioned before. All the districts form one congregation, which is served by four ministers, one social worker, and a nurse. Each minister has his district to care for. They preach alternately in the churches and at the meeting places. The congregation has the following institutions and foundations,

some of which are independently administered: an orphanage; a large home for the aged, "Spaar en Hout"; four smaller homes for the aged; and another modern home for the aged at Heemstede with the capacity of 140 persons. The congregation has Sunday schools for children from 5 to 10, a young people's church for children of 11 to 15, a youth fellowship for young people from 15 to 20 and a young people's organization for the ages of 20 to 30, and a study association for men. It also has organizations for members from 35 to 65 and for members 50 years and older, 13 ladies' organizations, an evangelism committee, an ushers' committee and a choir since 1894.

The congregation is governed by a "Large Church Council" consisting of 15 members including the ministers and the "Serving Church Council" consisting of 17 members which handles current matters. The four active ministers constitute the executive committee of both church councils and two of them function as chairmen and secretary of the council. Matters of welfare and mutual aid are handled by the Board of Deacons consisting of 12 members who are also members of the Serving Church Council. The deacons are assisted by a Board of Deaconesses (5 members) and a full time social worker. The Board of Deacons controls the current financial affairs of the congregation. The congregation publishes its own monthly paper with reports of the work of the various branches of the congregation.

Paging through the history of a congregation like Haarlem one is impressed by two things. First what great changes have taken place throughout the centuries of its existence and secondly how much effort must be put forth and what great machinery is necessary to keep a congregation like this functioning and keep the members interested in the congregation.

The total offering of the congregation for 1953 was approximately \$3,500, with only about one third of that amount being used for current expenses of the congregation, and two-thirds for such activities as relief, missions, youth work, etc. This raises a question, how can \$1000 keep such an extensive program as this congregation has going? The answer is that endowment funds accumulated by past generations provide the rest. In addition to the institutions mentioned the congregation owns considerable property including several blocks around the old church building.¹³

We turn now to East Friesland where rural churches have completely disappeared.

III. FROM THE COUNTRY TO THE CITY

East Friesland

A typical example of how Mennonites have moved from rural areas to cities and in some instances completely disappeared can

be found in East Friesland, North German, just bordering The Netherlands. This is the cradle of the Anabaptist movement in the Low Countries. From here it spreads into The Netherlands. East Friesland, which now consists of one thousand square miles, has a population of about 500,000. A co-worker of Menno Simons by the name of Leenaert Bouwens compiled a list of those individuals which he baptized during the years from 1551 to 1582.¹⁴ In East Friesland alone he baptized over 600 persons. Naturally he was not the only elder baptizing in this area during this time. Hofmann is supposed to have baptized 300 persons in Emden when he initiated the movement in 1530. We can safely assume that there must have been several thousand Mennonites in the various cities and rural areas during the sixteenth century. These were to a large extent Dutch refugees who found shelter in this haven for all sorts of dissenters.

Today there are barely 500 Mennonite church members in all of East Friesland who belong to the three city congregations: Emden, Leer, and Norden. When I had occasion a year ago to visit these places I made it a point not only to investigate the archives of the Mennonite congregation and the cities of Emden and Aurich but also to travel through the beautiful province stopping in villages, hamlets, and on farms where Mennonite farmers and congregations once prospered. I was told that none can be found in these places any more. Rural Mennonite life vanished and concentrated in the above mentioned cities. They became, like the Brons family in Emden or the Stroman and ten Doornkat Koolman families in Norden, prosperous businessmen and industrialists or middle class businessmen, craftsmen and laborers.

Pressure and Urbanization

One is overwhelmed and asks why the once prosperous active rural Mennonite congregations founded by Menno, Dirk Philips, and their co-workers have disappeared? I am not prepared to give a full and satisfactory answer, but would like to point out a few observations which I made while I was occupying myself with this question. The archives¹⁵ contain names of Mennonites of all rural areas while the church records of the cities contain full information about the families residing in the cities. These records should prove to be very helpful in determining what families moved from the country to the city and also when this occurred. The records of the Reformed churches in the communities in which Mennonites resided should also help us determine how many of the rural Mennonites gradually joined the Reformed Church. Some of the reasons for which the Mennonites left rural areas to go to the city or to give up the Mennonite affiliation may be traced to the following fact. For generations they were compelled by the

government to make a special payment (*Schutzgeld*). The archives contain many lists of Mennonites from whom this money was extracted annually because Mennonites and Jews were not considered full fledged citizens since they were dissenters in the faith.¹⁶ When a king was crowned they were expected to present a substantial gift in money. This burden weighed heavy on them from year to year and from generation to generation. This practice was initiated by the ruler Rudolf Christian, May 26, 1626, by granting them protection and a limited religious freedom for the payment of a certain amount per family. Only when East Friesland became a part of Prussia in 1744 was this practice discontinued. Even after this the Lutheran clergy of Norden forced the Mennonites to pay fees to the Lutheran church in general and at funerals even though they were not conducted in the Lutheran church. The Mennonite city churches with some well-to-do and influential members could defend themselves in situations like these better than the scattered rural Mennonites. This may have been a reason why the trend toward the city set in rather early. Long before World War I there was no rural Mennonite church left.

The rural Mennonite population was found mostly along the West coast of East Friesland. The Mennonites were popular as an economic factor because of their traditional ability to combat the sea by building dams and draining swampy regions. In the suburban areas of Leer and Emden where Mennonites lived in large numbers they established a weaving industry during the sixteenth century.¹⁷ Of the 122 male members between 1700-1740 who died at Emden there were 63 who had been connected with the weaving industry. Later business became more predominant. During the eighteenth century it was commonly said at Emden, "Only rich people belong to the Mennonite Church." This is evidenced later by the fact that the average member of the Reformed, Lutheran, and Catholic churches paid about one dollar tax for schools in 1891-92 while the average Mennonite member paid about \$18.¹⁸ World War I and World War II destroyed the prosperity of the Mennonites particularly of Emden. The once large families had become smaller and the membership decreased gradually. Through the efforts of the present pastor, A. Fast, many non-Mennonites have been won for the church.

Conclusion

We have spoken of Mennonite urbanism in the Low Countries in general and have discussed the city church of Haarlem and the disintegration of rural Mennonite churches in East Friesland. We have found that urbanism among Mennonites is nothing new. Large congregations were born in cities, have survived over four

hundred years and made substantial contributions to the religious and cultural life of their communities. From a record like this we American Mennonites can learn much how to maintain the vision and mission over a long period of time and how to avoid pitfalls which endanger the spiritual life of the congregations. The record shows that the spiritual, social and economic contributions of such a congregation to individuals and the community at large can be outstanding. Not always were the possibilities of serving fully utilized.

The case of the Mennonites in rural East Friesland has demonstrated to us that large and active churches can disappear as if they had never existed. Constant pressure can be a terrific force of destruction and influence the course of a congregation. Those who found their way from the country to the city made great contributions to the spiritual, cultural and economic life of their day but did not fully escape the disintegrating influences of a secular society.

We as American Mennonites can only benefit by studying aspects, developments and the past records of our mother church in the old country. Our problems of today were their's yesterday. We can learn from them how to solve them or how *not* to attempt a solution.

Christianity spread in a civilization and empire which was doomed. Paul preached the gospel primarily in the cities which resulted in the transformation of individuals and society. The early Anabaptists did the same. The gospel of Jesus Christ has the same transforming and regenerating power today as it did in the days of Christ, of Conrad Grebel and Menno Simons and Dwight L. Moody. In the days when our forefathers lived in secluded rural areas they lost sight somewhat of this fact. We owe it to our Lord and Saviour and to our heritage to establish and maintain churches of Christ everywhere—even in cities.

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 2. *Geschiede Belgiens*. Vol. III, (Gotha, 1907).
 3. "Kleine Bijdragen . . .," *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, (1917).
 4. *Het Hongerjaar 1566*. (Amsterdam, 1949).
 5. *De Wederdopers in de Noordelijke Nederlanden 1531-1544*. (Groningen, 1954).
 6. *Bijdrage tot de kennis van de maatschappelijke verhoudingen van de zestiende-eeuwse Doopers*. (Amsterdam).
 7. There are a number of studies in this area but no specialized research on the Mennonites has been done.

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16. "Beilagen," J. P. Mueller, *Die Mennoniten in Ostfriesland . . .*, (Amsterdam, 1887).
17. Ernst Esselborn, *op. cit.*
18. A. Fast, *Die Kulturleistungen der Mennoniten in Ostfriesland und Muensterland*, (1947), 6-8.

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EARLY ANABAPISTS AND URBANISM

Paul Peachey

In 1907 President Theodore Roosevelt set up a Country Life Commission. Its task was to be "nothing more or less than the *rebuilding of a new agriculture and a new rural life!*". To the members of this commission Roosevelt said, "No growth of cities, no growth of wealth, can make up for the loss either in the numbers or the character of the farm population."¹

Since that time, and especially after World War I, notable efforts have been made to strengthen and perpetuate the American rural community. A number of important organizations have come into being, both secular and religious, such as the Rural Sociological Society, the Catholic Rural Life Conference, and the Town and Country Committee of the Federal Council of Churches, now the National Council of Churches. These rural life movements have all been keenly conscious that the city is a great consumer of human resources, and that societies without a strong agrarian base have not survived in history.

Sociologists now cast about for model rural communities and found such in Mennonite and Amish settlements scattered about our country. Walter Kollmorgen studied the Amish of Lancaster Co., Pennsylvania, as one of the most stable of rural American communities.² The late O. E. Baker, one of the country's foremost prophets of rural life, argued a decade and a half ago at a conference as this that "Our modern urban culture is ephemeral, and that the Christian rural culture, as exemplified by the Mennonite Church, is lasting."³ Here is a way of life, it seems, that fosters community, mutual aid, neighborliness and brotherly love and offers welcome relief to an increasingly individualistic and secular society.

These views coincided with the conviction long since deeply entrenched among American Mennonites, notably the more conservative groups, that rural life provides the best setting for the realization of "the Mennonite way of life." Indeed, experience showed that this particular way of life hardly survived transplanting or grafting into urban society. Research conducted by a small but growing circle of Mennonite social scientists confirmed these convictions. We have only to refer to the two journals on Mennonite culture, "Mennonite Life" and "The Mennonite Com-

munity," to become aware of this fact. In the first issue of "Mennonite Life" dated January, 1946, J. Winfield Fretz stated that "The future of society must have its hope in the rural community," that the rural community is the area in which "Christian ideals, moral values and standards of conduct and behavior of the highest type will be produced and maintained."⁴ In a similar vein Guy F. Hershberger proposed a year later in the first issue of "The Mennonite Community" to promote "a new and better pattern, a community with an improved agriculture, based on the sound Mennonite traditions of the past, and taking advantages of the best scientific research"⁵

Meanwhile, these emphases notwithstanding, the trend has been strong in the opposite direction. Fifteen years ago O. E. Baker was deeply distressed to find but two out of thirty-eight farm-born students at a Mennonite college planning to return to the rural community.⁶ In a number of Mennonite communities, farmers are actually in the minority among the church membership. But beyond this there is a constant seepage to the cities and away from the brotherhood. Winfield Fretz's study of Mennonite institutions in Chicago about fifteen years ago revealed that at least in this case the majority of Mennonites seeking employment in the large city did not stay by the Mennonite faith.⁷

If the thesis here described regarding Mennonitism and rurality is valid, then Mennonites may well be headed toward extinction. Rural life emphases such as we have noted may slow down the process and stabilize existent communities, but apparently cannot hope to arrest the trend. Furthermore, we are today deliberately pursuing policies in our church life which encourage rather than discourage urban life. I am thinking here of our educational and missionary service emphases. Finally there are social forces at work today completely outside our control, such as Selective Service, which most certainly encourage the urban trend.

In the light of these developments and of more recent research it is time to examine the rural life thesis afresh. Recent years have brought additional light on both the rural and urban types of Mennonite community. E. K. Francis, of Notre Dame University, has shown how the Russian Mennonites passed from a religious to an ethnic community in the brief space of two generations.⁸ Mennonites must be told simply and bluntly: not everything that is rural is for that reason Christian. In the closed or semi-closed Mennonite rural community, ethnic factors are a constant threat to the spiritual impulse as the constitutive dynamic of community. Where maximum community security is achieved, as in Russia, Mennonite society quickly becomes ethnic. The experience of the Russian Mennonites tells us, then, that rural

life is no panacea, but like any other social order carries the seeds of its own potential corruption. In the second place, research of recent years has emphasized that the initial seedbed of sixteenth century Swiss Anabaptism was the city.⁹ It is probably no happenstance that Zurich rather than Wittenberg was to be the hearth of the Anabaptist movement. Despite the fact that Luther's background and environment were feudal rather than communal, the Reformation as such must be characterized as an urban movement. If Luther was a reformer by necessity rather than by nature, as has been asserted,¹⁰ then it was because beyond his own religious experience, which became the basis for his personal action, lay the latent forces of nationalism and economic unrest, ready to carry him forward to a break with Rome. Hence Luther's reform was a matter of princes with their jurists and theologians, only gradually seeping down to the populace.

The Zwinglian-Calvinist reform was wholly other in social character, and the great south German cities as Strasbourg and Augsburg developed a Protestant genius distinct from the feudal Lutheranism to which they after all were indebted. Here the Reformation emerged clearly, so far as its social dimensions were concerned, as a product of the medieval city now flowering into the modern mercantilistic and republican nation-state. It was the religious genius of the Genevan republic that was destined to shape the religious and political character of modern society, as Max Weber has so dramatically shown, rather than the conservatism of Wittenberg.

Since the fourteenth century the Swiss cantons were virtually independent city states, held in loose federation by an intermittent Diet. Because of its location Zurich was one of the most important of the thirteen cantons. The textile industry which had flourished there during the Middle Ages was now in a state of decline, but as a commercial gateway to the inner cantons the city retained its economic influence. Already in the fourteenth century the older landed aristocracy was eclipsed by a newer commercial and monetary aristocracy (the Grebels were one of the latter) but by the early sixteenth century this class was in turn challenged by the rising artisans.¹¹ Even the peasants had achieved a degree of political influence, primarily through their contribution of mercenary soldiers.¹²

It was the new middle class of artisans that constituted the backbone of Zwingli's support as he carried out his reform. The execution of Conrad Grebel's father Jacob in 1526 symbolized his struggle against the conservative aristocratic Catholic opposition. It was with "the aid of citizens with whom he had to argue as with consciously freeborn men"¹³ that Zwingli effected his reform.

In passing it must be noted that one dare not exaggerate the role of these socio-political factors. The Zwinglian reform was not a social movement primarily. His own birth was peasant rather than urban, and in his circle of supporters were to be found men of aristocratic, bourgeois and peasant birth. But all of them were men with some academic background and had thus been caught up in the urban ferment. And on a more popular basis, the printing press scarcely three quarters of a century old, had drawn the new, self-conscious artisan classes likewise into the excitement of the times. In Zurich, as in other cities, a Bible-reading circle flourished as early as 1522 among the artisan citizens. Even the peasantry in the surrounding villages did not escape entirely the new influences. The vigor and independence of the Zurich group can be clearly seen in the ideas which developed among them, challenging such things as Christian participation in war.¹⁴ Communication from city to city was likewise vigorous, and hence ideas spread rapidly. And so, once the break between Zwingli and the Grebel party occurred, similar action quickly took place in corresponding circles in other Swiss cities.¹⁵ One cannot escape the conclusion that Anabaptism would hardly have arisen in a purely peasant setting. Not only does it presuppose a degree of intellectual cultivation, but likewise a degree of political maturity. As citizens of a self-conscious republican city-state these men had already been schooled in the faculty of private judgment, a faculty which they now exercised in religious matters.

The same is true of the Anabaptists of South Germany. Here for a brief time in 1527-1528, Augsburg was the informal headquarters of the new brotherhood, and Strasbourg likewise became an influential center. While in Augsburg the movement had been completely crushed by 1535,¹⁶ in Strasbourg or in the vicinity, a congregation persisted until the nineteenth century, and the cause is still upheld there today by a congregation of Neu-Täufer (in part a 19th century Swiss Anabaptist offshoot). Nevertheless, persecution prevented this group from flourishing a great deal. Even Pilgrim Marpeck, the great lay theologian and engineer, could not be tolerated in the city very long, despite his valuable service as a builder of commercial waterways. Generally, the strong artisan character of the movement in this entire area has been clearly demonstrated.¹⁷

In Austria, according to the study of Dedic, there was likewise a strong element of artisans (and "free-men")¹⁸ Indeed, in upper Austria the peasants were unaffected by Anabaptist propaganda. Naturally one dare not press the "urban" character of Anabaptism too far merely because peasants were not affected in this particular area. Even the artisans and miners were small-town

people, and not inhabitants of metropolises as we know them today. It is also significant to note the role which the trades and handicrafts played in the Hutterite colonies, which colonies originated among Tyrolese refugees. While presumably many of these people learned certain trades after joining the communities, certainly one must look for the original impulse toward this development in the skills which the converts brought with them.

Against this strongly urban background, now, we are struck by the almost purely agrarian development of the movement within a very few years, at least in Switzerland. This process has been ably traced by Ernst Correll.¹⁹ These new, socially heterogeneous communities changed into a relatively homogenous "Agrartypus" of social organization. Anabaptists became extinct in the Swiss cities, and survived only in small semi-ethnic agricultural communities in Switzerland, and after expulsion, in South Germany, Alsace and North America.

The question of interest to the sociologist here is to determine how and why a movement urban at birth turned rural in its perpetuation. Of what nature is a religious movement that requires urban soil to germinate but rural soil to grow? How can we account for the fact that Swiss Anabaptism quickly died out in the cities and clung on tenaciously in the rugged north-Alpine valleys and the Jura highlands? Indeed the question becomes even more baffling: How did Anabaptism survive among the peasantry of the very canton where an urban group never did succeed in forming itself, namely Bern? Impressed by this fact and the conservative character of the Bernese peasantry, Ernst Müller concluded that Bernese Anabaptism must have had roots in remnants of Waldensian influence rather than in Zurich.²⁰

It is here that we come finally to the heart of our problem. Does urban life entail types of social activity which a priori exclude the Anabaptist from dwelling there? Is Anabaptism by its very nature adapted only to society within which rural withdrawal is possible, or where a liberal monarchy can grant special privileges to minority groups in a way that democratic governments cannot?²¹ Or was there something peculiar to the sixteenth century city which was inimical to Anabaptism, so that the movement became rural, as it were, by historical accident, i.e., by a combination of unfavorable circumstances?²²

There are three basic social phenomena which must be faced here: 1. social structure, particularly in its apex, the political order; 2. social process, particularly in the economic and "social" spheres; and 3. the relationship of the religious community to the natural community.

1. The political problem. The word "city" reminds us of the political origin of the city as we know it. During the Middle Ages tradesmen banded together, as had the ancient Latins from whom we inherit the term city (from *civis*), to wrest the rights of self-government and self-defence from the feudal aristocracy. These tradesmen settled outside the manor walls or at strategic commercial spots, bound together by an oath of loyalty, which contract became the basis of political authority. Political co-responsibility was thus (seemingly) essential and tantamount to city residence. "To be a citizen since the late Middle Ages meant namely likewise to participate in the cooperative self-government of the city and its possessions."²³ In this context the Anabaptists' repudiation of the oath according to the words of Christ, and thus apparently of political loyalty, became a major civil offence, no less than their refusal to bear arms in public defence. But this is only one side of the problem. In the sixteenth century the *corpus christianum* ideal, though undergoing modification, was still very much alive. This meant that also from a religious viewpoint, it was required that individual citizens take their full place in the total society. Under these circumstances it is perfectly clear that the sixteenth-century Swiss city simply could not tolerate a "sectarian" Anabaptism within its walls. The execution of Felix Manz in the icy waters of the Limmat became a signal to the whole confederacy that here was a cancerous growth that had to be destroyed before it instead would destroy the city. Whatever other negative factors were at work, it seems clear that this religio-political conflict was the major force which thrust the early Anabaptists from the city.²⁴

2. The social process of urban life. The question arises, however, whether this was the only aspect of city life inimical to the Anabaptist movement. Or we could ask whether, now that city government has become far more tolerant, Anabaptists, can safely return to the city, assuming that they would still be a minority as then. Here the initial answer is far more difficult. It is evident that right from the outset Anabaptists were very critical of the loose living which characterized urban society, as well as of the injustice of the world of commerce. The Schleithem articles take a strong attitude against the social life of the guild hall and Zwingli's polemic against these articles seems to confirm this indication.²⁵ Severe persecution likewise early encouraged a growing negativism toward the city, as did also the complicity of the universities in Anabaptist suppression (especially in south Germany and the lower Rhine territories). But whether the Swiss Brethren condemned city life as such or extolled country life before the negative turn of events is to be seriously doubted. I do not recall any such tendencies growing merely from their

criticism of the "world" or their belief that Christians should be separate from it. There is, of course, the case of Ulrich Hugwald, a Basel humanist who was a member of the original "congregation" there, and who several years previously had extolled country life and contemplated leaving the city. This, however, was obviously a humanist quirk.²⁶ It will be noted that this area, that of the economic and social processes, particularly the former, constitutes our major objection to city life today. While it is not to be denied that the modern city can hardly be compared with sixteenth century Zurich, there is no evidence from days of origin that Anabaptism repudiated city life per se.

3. The religious versus the natural community. The persecution of the sixteenth century Anabaptists is an illustration of the inevitable conflict between Christianity and society. Christianity is one of the so-called founded religions.²⁷ It represents the establishment of a religious fellowship distinct in dynamic and delineation from the inclusive natural culture and kinship groupings. Christ insisted that even family bonds cannot merge with the new religious fellowship which He established. Human culture and human society inherently strive for consistency and integration. While one should not postulate a uniform or inevitable process, one can say that the founded religion as it develops is threatened to become swallowed in the struggle for cultural homogeneity, and thus tends to become identical in scope with the natural community. This actually took place in the post-Constantinian millenium, and in some circumstances still prevails today. The result of the integration of the religious community into the natural is, of course, spiritual decline. Indeed, sociologically speaking, revival is simply the attempt to re-establish the distinctly religious character of the Christian community. Notable biblical examples of this kind of effort are the call of Abraham, the emergence of the late Jewish prophets who proclaim the remnant of the faithful and above all, Christ's own preaching.

The significance of Anabaptism, then, is seen in this perspective, is in its re-establishment of "founded" character of the Christian community, not only as over against the inclusive "secular" society, but over against the pseudo-Christian community which was now identical with the whole society, against a Christianity which had become a folk religion. Anabaptism is thus a protest against the ethnicizing of Christianity. If this is its original meaning, must we not seek its on-going validation in its ability to maintain the distinctly religious community? The distinguishing feature of Anabaptism is thus not at all its ethnic self-perpetuative ability, such as it has become among North American Mennonites, but precisely the opposite trait. For the moment of maximum ethnic solidarity, in which religious and natural community are merged, is actually the moment of downfall.

It is here that we must return to the work of E. K. Francis who in one of his articles shows how in less than two generations of maximum ethnic security, Mennonites passed from a religious to a natural community.²⁸ This suggests that the typical rural or peasant society facilitates the trend toward social homogeneity, toward identification of the religious and natural communities. In a Mennonite "commonwealth" such as the Russian Mennonite colonies, ethnic factors outweigh the religious as the force of cohesion. Individual members remain within the community even without religious decision, since this offers the line of least social resistance.

Urban social organization, on the other hand, encourages and gives rise to social heterogeneity, to voluntary and exclusive groupings of endless variety. In the sixteenth century city this impulse is already strongly at work, though it is still counteracted by the concept of the medieval folk society. In the days of Zwingli it was still assumed that the keystone of the social edifice must be the universally accepted and enforced religious ethos. Sociologically speaking, the persecution of the Anabaptists in the Swiss cities, then, was the struggle against the old agrarian pattern of homogeneity for the right of voluntary assembly in a society which by its very nature made for such heterogeneity.

This in turn leads us to assert that the founded religion—the gathered or believers' church as we now call it—must depend upon social heterogeneity or outright disorganization to gain entree and to maintain its distinguishing genius once it is established. There is sound sociology of religion, if you will, in the words of Christ that they that are sick need the physician, that the gospel is preached to the poor, and in the words of Paul, that not many of noble birth are called. From time immemorial movements as ours have carried the stigma of being recruited among the down-trodden masses. While we may rightly challenge this as pointing to inferiority of religious quality, the fact remains that Christianity basically entails social heterogeneity.

We are now ready to formulate a thesis (hypothesis). If the genius of Anabaptism is the creation and perpetuation of the distinct religious community, and is thus involved in social heterogeneity, then the urban environment provides a more congenial setting for a vital Anabaptism than does the rural. The fact that Mennonites today are a rural people and can barely gain a foothold in the city indicates that ethnic forces have taken precedence over the religious as the dynamic of community. This is not to gloss over the destructive character of the modern city, but rather to posit the need for greater realism in our approach to both rural and urban life. The challenge today as always, in country and in city, is the challenge of Christ:

"While he was still speaking to the people, behold, his mother and his brothers stood outside, asking to speak to him. But he replied to the man who told him, 'Who is my mother, and who are my brothers?' And stretching out his hand toward His disciples, he said, 'Here are my mother and my brothers! For whoever does the will of my Father in heaven is my brother, and sister, and mother.'" (Matt. 12:26-50)

1. Carl C. Taylor, "Rural Life and Rural Sociology," in *Rural Life in the United States*, New York, 1949, p. 6.
2. Walter Kollmorgen, "Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community," *U. S. Dept. of Agriculture*, Sept., 1942.
3. "The Effects of Urbanization on American Life and the Church," *MQR*, Apr., 1945, p. 119.
4. *Mennonite Life*, North Newton, Kan., Vol. I, Jan., 1946, p. 14.
5. *The Mennonite Community*, Scottdale, Pa., Vol. I, Jan., 1947, p. 7.
6. Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
7. J. Winfield Fretz, "A Study of Mennonite Religious Institutions" in Chicago, Univ. of Chicago (library), June, 1940, Abstract.
8. "The Russian Mennonites: From Religious to Ethnic Group," *American Journal of Sociology*, Sept., 1948, pp. 101-107.
9. See Paul Dedic, "The Social Background of the Austrian Anabaptists," *MQR*, Jan., 1939; Robert Kreider, "Vocations of the Swiss and South German Anabaptists," *Mennonite Life*, Jan., 1953, pp. 38-42; Paul Peachey, "Die soziale Herkunft der Schweizer Täufer, Karlsruhe," 1954.
10. A. M. Fairbairn, "Calvin and the Reformed Church," in *Cam. Mod. History*, Vol. II, p. 343.
11. For the above see: Paul Gupyer, "Die soziale Schichtung der Burgerschaft Zuerichs vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis 1798," in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift f. Geschichte*, Nr. 4, 1952, pp. 569-587, esp. p. 587.
12. Cf. Walter Claasen, "Schweizer Bauern politik im Zeitalter Zwinglis," Weimar, 1899, p. 30.
13. Fairbairn, *op. cit.*, p. 345.
14. Emil Egli, "Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Zuericher Reformation . . .," Zuerich, 1879, pp. 277 ff.
15. Paul Peachey, "The Social Background and Social Philosophy of the Swiss Anabaptists," *MQR*, Apr., 1954, pp. 113 f.
16. Christian Hege, "Augsburger Täufergemeinde," *ML* Vol. I, p. 96.
17. Robert Kreider, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
18. Dedic, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-18.
19. "Das schweizerische Täufermennonitentum," *Tubingen*, 1925.
20. "Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer," *Frauenfeld*, 1895, p. 53f.
21. Cf. C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites*, North Newton, 1950, p. 126.
22. Professor Blanke olds that the "shortcoming" of the Anabaptists was that they held ideas regarding separation of church and state, and religious liberty too far in advance of their time. Class lectures, 1952, University of Zuerich.
23. Guyer, *op. cit.*, p. 569.
24. Peachey, *op. cit.*, *MQR*, p. 115.
25. Cf. text of the Schleithem, Article IV. English translation in John C. Wenger, *Glimpses of Mennonite History*, Scottdale, 1949, p. 209.
26. Peachey, "Die soziale Herkunft . . .," p. 29.
27. For the following compare Joachim Wach, *Sociology of Religion*, Chicago, 1944.
28. See above, n. 8.

THE JOURNAL OF A MENNONITE IN URBAN INDUSTRY

by Curtis Janzen

This record shall be an attempt to put down in words some of my experiences and impressions as they come to me during the months of my experiment in Chicago. It is not a diary in the strictest sense, but a journal only of things that strike me as significant in relation to the things I want to learn. My motives and interests in this experiment are varied. I suppose I ought to put them down to help myself to see them more clearly. They are, briefly listed:

1. To experience city living as the average working person knows it; his working hours and conditions; to some extent his social life; his financial woes; his church life; what he thinks and talks about; how he uses his free time.

2. I am interested in the application of Christian ethics to city living. Can they be applied simply as we have been taught in our home Mennonite communities? Along with that, why is it that many Mennonites who come to the city are lost to the church? Is it easier to be dishonest in a city? Are the world's attractions so much stronger here than in our relatively small rural communities? What happens to our neighborliness in the city?

3. The Gessner Mission at Mainz, Germany, interested me very much in the question of how to reach city folk with the Gospel. Symanowski worked in a cement factory, and through his ministry as a worker, through basic honesty, and the application of Christian love, the number of professed communists in the factory fell from fifteen to zero. This struck me as being an effective city ministry. This could have two sides: the effect on the labor movement might be brought from within, and a method whereby Christianity could be brought to the worker. One hears constantly that to a large degree the working class is unchurched. Why? What should be done to reach them and to meet their spiritual needs? Is working alongside of them the approach that needs to be used?

In a sense this experience will be a test for me and for my faith. I have often felt that I wanted to get out of a sheltered church, college, or generally speaking, Christian community. I have until now been fed on ideals, and living in a sheltered community one

easily becomes very optimistic about people, that they are generally good. Over a period of years the conviction came to me that I had seen only a rosy side of life, that there were millions who lived by entirely different standards, and that surely it must be possible to reach them and instill in them some measure of goodness, or at least the desire for goodness.

Coming out of this "idealistic community" I felt that I as one person coming from a Christian home with training in a Christian college, having service for two and one-half years with MCC in church work, should have a positive contribution to make. It is my thought that many cells of consecrated Christians transplanted to the city could be an effective agent in reaching common working class people with the gospel and some instruction for Christian living here and now. It is also my thought that much talent is being lost in debate over fringe matters of our faith in our isolated Mennonite communities, merely because people don't realize what the needs, both physical and spiritual, are that are being wrought by powers of evil in our world. Discussing the method of dress, whether women ought to wear lipstick or no, arguments over fundamentalism, orthodoxy, *et cetera*, are spiritual concerns, but they don't reach or speak to the spiritual needs of an unregenerate populace. These spiritual and physical needs ought to be our central concern. And we need to get out of our little shelters to see them.

It actually took me only two days to find a job. I began looking by following "Help Wanted" ads in the papers. Where the ad is for general labor one does well to apply early in the morning. This I found in several instances. At one place I was a day late, but I was given to feel that had I been there earlier the job would have been mine.

After the ads ran out I went to the more heavily industrialized sections and walked from the employment office of one company to that of another. In a way I was hoping I wouldn't find an opening immediately so that I could get a general idea of what openings there might be, what industries there are in Chicago, and so that possibly I could be more selective. Everyone I talked to assured me that certainly many jobs are available. In spite of this I was somewhat discouraged at not having found a job at the end of the first day.

I filled out applications at many places and at others I talked to personnel managers. Applications asked for the amount of schooling, and I generally listed only high school. The reason for this was that I was more interested in common labor and felt that if they knew of my college they would immediately think of a management or some white-collar angle.

One personnel manager lifted his eyebrows when I told him I had college. He immediately wanted to know what my real reason was for looking for this type of work. When I told him that I wanted to learn to know city ways and problems with the possible intention of going into social work, he suggested I go to the welfare offices. That is where the real problems are. True enough, I must admit. I asked him whether the working man was hard working and really earned his day's pay. He said that in the sense of two plus two equals four plus one is five, here is your change" they are honest. But when it comes to honesty and integrity of character, then, "no." None of the men in the plant put out an honest day's work.

The personnel manager at Campbell's, one of the places where the application form asked for race and religion preference, came from Pennsylvania and knew something about Mennonites. A Mennonite fellow had been in earlier with somewhat the same concerns, perhaps a student-in-industry person; and he had left a good impression during the interview. The personnel manager at least had been impressed with his integrity and character.

What made the Campbell people think I would be a good soup inspector I do not know. At any rate that is what I am to be at \$62.50 for a 40-hour week on a 3:12 p.m. to 11:42 p.m. shift with a bonus for all hours after 6 starting next Monday.

I had been taken around the plant the day I was hired, so that things were not entirely new when I came to work. The shift supervisor assigned me to one of the more experienced men who was to help show me the work. He explained many things which at the time did not begin to soak in, but which I will eventually have to use. One of my observations was that although most of the common labor was Negro, none of the foremen or inspectors were. They tell me that Negroes have worked here for almost ten years.

The inspection department has no official say as to assigning or putting men to work except as that may affect the way the product is turned out. Even then one does best to present his concerns to the production foreman rather than to the individual worker. We can often observe how the work is scheduled and can sense immediately if the work is organized well or not. But, officially, that is not the concern of the inspection department. An inspector often has the feeling that he is just standing around and watching others work. I had this feeling particularly the first several days.

I began work the last week of tomato season and I guess everything was pretty well mixed up. On my third day of work I was put with another inspector on a job where damaged cans of tomato soup were being opened for repacking. Apparently damaged cans

must be sold as seconds and therefore the costly operation of opening and repacking. Inspection's job was to smell all the soup in order to detect cans that might have broken completely open and become sour.

The next two days I was in charge of the operation. On the first of these days the production foreman was late. Workers from first shift were being kept at the job (although they wanted to go home) until the next shift men arrived. Occasionally a top level production foreman would walk by and yell because not enough people were at this operation. Until the regular foreman got there, the number of workers varied from two to fourteen and down to four again. This continued even after the late shift foreman arrived because the general foreman would keep sending and taking away workers. I had, until the foreman arrived, "unofficially" tried to keep those few workers organized that were there. Between the foreman, the general foreman, and myself, the workers really became confused and felt quite clearly the apparent lack of organization. This I am sure leads to tension among the workers, especially when the foreman tells them one thing and the general foreman another.

Gradually I became acquainted with the many different forms and score sheets that inspectors have to fill out. On one of the sheets was a column for "Less" and entries all the way down varied, being either one or two gallons. I asked how this was determined. I was told that that had been determined long before, "So I just put down what they tell me. Who am I to ask any questions?" In other words, we are inspectors who just check to see what goes on but record as if everything were in perfect order. The inspector added, "Don't be too strict about things you see. If for example a couple of pounds of carrots are spilled, just let it go. They don't want you to be too strict. All you do is get yourself in trouble if you are too strict, both with our inspection foreman, and with the production department." In other words, be easy going, don't cause any trouble, don't disagree and you will get along fine. This was a very new angle to me.

It took me several days to get my bearings in the plant. We got forty-five minutes time off for supper of which thirty minutes were our time and fifteen minutes were company time; then we got a ten minute break between 10:00 and 10:30 on company time. Mostly, this turns out to be fifteen minutes. Everyone takes fifteen, including the foreman. Apparently the company expects it. Time clocks and checking out times were new to me also. We can be ready to punch the clock at the end of eight hours. Uniforms for everyone are furnished and laundered by the company at their expense.

The company has two cafeterias, one for inspectors, timekeepers, lab technicians, and office workers; and the other for common help. This pretty well segregates Negroes. There are however a few white common laborers. Actually I doubt whether racial segregation was as much the primary purpose as was the separation of salaried workers and the day or hour labor. Possibly they felt that office workers would not want to sit together with persons splashed with tomato soup or garlic. If that were the reasoning, however, the line could have been drawn on a different basis.

One day at supper I paused to give thanks before partaking of the food, as I have always done. My table companion noticing my bowed head which was more or less resting on my hand, inquired whether I had a headache. I politely said no and then he realized to his embarrassment what I had been doing. I failed to capitalize on the situation. In retrospect I feel now that I guess I was embarrassed, although I never have been hasty with explanations. It would have afforded good opportunity for explaining why and to whom I was thankful for my food. I had never quite realized that the simple act of grace could have such potential for Christian witness.

People have various views on the position which the Negro should hold. Talking to a man in the spice distillery I asked him how he felt about Negroes working in the plant. "They are all right. I have nothing against them, as long as they stay in their place. They are all right here in the plant. I get along with them. But they are different. They come up from the south and want to take over everywhere. They have the run of the city now. What more do they want? They ought to live only in certain sections of town. But I have nothing against them, you understand." To that effect the remarks of this man and others ran.

At another time I had occasion to bring up the subject. I commented that it seemed to me the Negroes were working hard, especially the cooks at the blending kettles. Comment was yes, but they do a lot more yelling and loud talking, although most of it seemed to be in good fun. Only occasionally did the "discussions" seem to be serious. Again it came up. "They are all right, as long as they are in their place. As soon as they buy a piece of property in a white territory property values go down. It is not fair to the other landowners in the neighborhood to have that happen to them." A purely money standard. No one sees the possibilities for good will in human relations present in such a situation. Yet the question, "Would I with my family be willing to live in such a neighborhood? Would I be willing to live on Woodlawn near the Mennonite Biblical Seminary? I guess I should reserve answer till I've had a little more firsthand experience. I know what the ideal is.

Sunday night at the Woodlawn church there was a discussion on how to bring Negroes into the church and make it a real interracial fellowship. The point that stuck with me was one on humility. We cannot reach the Negro as long as we feel he is beneath us. Nor could Christ have reached any sinner with that feeling. Nor can I leave a Christian testimony at work as long as I feel self-righteously superior to the other men even though they smoke, go on drinking parties, or in every other breath vainly use the name of Jesus Christ, or stoop to vulgarity with the women in the group. I, because I do not indulge in these things, tend to feel that I am so much better than they. I know I need to learn to love them for what they are, for what Christ sees in them, and what His power could do to them. Only then will it be possible for Christ to work through me to reach them. So far I have said little. I hope the men realize that I feel ill at ease in the midst of such conversation and then inquire as to the reason for it. I hesitate to talk for fear I would say the wrong thing and thus alienate the person without reaching the core of his need.

The solution lies I think in yielding myself more fully to Christ, realizing that on my own I cannot reach the souls of men but only as His love works through me.

One night at the supper table several of the inspectors commented that they had not been working hard, to which I could agree. At time production moves so slowly that time hangs heavy on one's hands. I felt that there were far too many inspectors, at least in the section in which I had been, for the amount of work to be done. Two of us were assigned to Beans with Bacon soup. Generally ten kettles are used for this soup, 5 of them being made up together. In the making-up process the inspector takes tags off certain buckets of ingredients before they are put in the kettle. When these ingredients are in the soup, it cooks for 1½ hours before further ingredients are added. At this time there are 2 more tags to be pulled and then follows another 15 minute cooking period. One person could easily take care of 20 kettles of this soup, but now there were 2 of us for 10 kettles. During our supper conversation this came up, as did other similar situations. I recalled that when I had been hired I was told "There is an opening" not "We have a job for you." So far I feel it was an "opening" and not a job, for I have not had hard work, nor has any time been fully used.

Whether the management is aware of this or not I'm not sure. I think it must be taken into account at some stage. Perhaps this was only because I was new and didn't know the work completely. Maybe they have several extra inspectors in case one gets sick or someone quits.

The man told me when I was hired that inspection work was mostly mental, not hard, varied a lot, one is always learning something new. At this point the truth of that statement still needs to be proved to me. The learning process is very slow and unsure. No effort is made on the part of foremen to instruct and there are no classes or books to which one can refer for instruction. What I have learned so far has come from talking to other inspectors. Their replies to my questions are varied because one of them is quite strict in enforcing standards whereas the other may be lax. No one seems to know exactly what the "higher-ups" would want.

One day one of the cooks threw a bucket of salt into the soup including the salt bag. I was just walking over to the skid on which the salt buckets were, to take out the tag just as he threw it in. Occasionally it happens that the tags get covered up in the bucket of seasoning, and that could be the reason the cook did not see it. Or it may be that he just wasn't paying attention and therefore missed seeing it. The soup had to be strained in order to get the piece of paper out of it. The inspector with me had been gone at the moment this happened. He began writing a memo on this "irregularity" but the foreman asked me to put it in my own words. The other inspector had put down in writing that the tag had been covered as the reason this had happened. In my writing of the incident I gave no reason for it because I did not know for certain what the reason was. He wanted me to put his reason down and I refused from the standpoint of honesty. Putting down that reason would have relieved both us and the cook of the blame but he thought that leaving out the reason would make it look like the inspection department's fault. I told him that I was not above making errors and would be willing to take the blame. But he would have told a falsehood in order to protect himself.

Here is a problem I suppose that most of the workers would pass the blame to someone else if they could, or pass it from one department to another. That in my mind is wrong for it generates distrust and ill will. I have observed the cooks "pass the buck" to another person also. I think honesty and integrity here could make a great difference in labor relations. The reverse of this is telling a white lie in order to cover up for a mistake that someone else made. In many cases this makes it impossible to trace the person responsible for the error and consequently no one is blamed. I am wondering whether the ends justify the means.

Going to work on the bus normally takes 40-45 minutes. Until I got accustomed to it the ride seemed long. Now I read a book on the way and time passes quite quickly. A drunk sat down beside me one day wanting to know whether I could give him a cigarette. After I'd told him I didn't smoke and therefore had none, he

began cursing the bus driver for poor driving, etc., but not because he was a poor driver in fact, but because he was a Negro. His attentions wandered, but everywhere they were punctuated with vile language and cursing. While absorbing this tirade for a time, I was trying to contemplate something to say that would make him stop and take stock of himself. Suddenly I asked him whether he knew that there was Someone who loved him, in spite of the fact that he hated everyone else. That stopped him only for a moment. He said, "I didn't sit down here to start talking about religion. Everybody has their ideas about religion. You keep to your church and I'll keep to mine." When he felt I was intending to talk religion to him, he moved to someone else to mooch a cigarette from them. One certainly needs technique and love in trying to make people like that to face up to reality.

A fellow by the name of Herb, incidentally the one who thought I had a headache when I was returning thanks, is by now one of the better acquaintances at work. I found out that he is a Catholic and have had several brief opportunities to learn firsthand something about Catholicism. He shares many of my concerns, is open and frank in discussion and very friendly. He is basically honest and a willing worker, but as so many others is always lured by money. He is willing to work for it and would not resort to just any means to get it. He thinks \$7500 a year salary would be just about right.

At supper with him and a third person, we had been holding our conversation on a decent plane. Then someone said "Let's talk about some real basic conversation. Let's talk about Marilyn Monroe's divorce." Well, that backfired. The rest of the supper hour was spent in talking of just that, due mainly to the third person at the table. Someone mentioned that posing nude for a calendar picture had brought her to fame. Herb commented and I agreed that that was really selling herself. The third person said, "Wouldn't you for \$100,000?" That may give some small clue as to attitudes which manifest themselves among the men.

I do not feel at home at all in this type of environment. Their minds and consequently, their conversation runs in very limited channels. Sports is one of the main topics of conversation. Lewd jokes and dirty stories occupy a good percentage of it. Drinking parties, where and what to drink; escapades with women; all seemingly trivial matters; what one reads in the newspaper about a fire, a speeding hit-and-run driver, Marilyn Monroe, etc. Those are the topics of conversation, punctuated not infrequently with swear words and vain use of the Lord's name. One day one of the men told about giving a cop \$4 to write a favorable report on a minor traffic accident, or another told of a \$2 bribe to offset a

traffic fine. At every turn one could be saying this is not Christian, you shouldn't do that. But I wonder if before too long one wouldn't lose contact completely with the men if one used that approach. Perhaps the way of saying it would be important. On the traffic fines I recalled a motto in the Oregon state capital, "The integrity of a government is no higher than that of its citizens." I went on to point out that it was on this level where corruption starts. They saw this, but more or less excused themselves by saying it is easier this way—no trouble of going to court, less time and money expended, less risk of losing one's driver's license. There is a knowledge of right but no compulsion to do rightly.

It does seem that one could in these situations leave a Christian impact; but how to go about it? It is on this level that much Christian witnessing needs to be done, for here it can be done on a man to man basis.

But that is the level, those are the channels in which their minds run. Their minds are untrained, they believe everything they read in a newspaper, they have long not been taught anything and learn only things that are of immediate interest to them and that give them meat for further conversation with others on their own level. If there is any way of lifting them out of this vicious circle it will certainly be a difficult one.

It is a vicious circle. One man may get satisfaction out of making low remarks to the female employees. If they respond, succeeding remarks can get baser and more suggestive. One man enjoys telling dirty stories. Although another may not like them, he finds that that is one way of acquiring status with the rest of the group. He soon finds himself telling stories. For a young person at his first job, this is a particularly bad environment. For a Christian trying to live in the example of Christ the problem is one of maintaining Christian integrity and being firm in faith.

The workers as such would be put in the "working class" group. Not of particularly high intelligence, limited in training as well as in interest and experience, they could be called very common. Counseling opportunities are limited by noise and din of the factory and—one is supposed to be working. Yet counseling, or sincere friendship would seem to be the way to reach them. Doing one's work honestly and well ought to leave its impression on them, but that alone cannot change them. Is it possible to bring people to a Christian faith only through contact in a factory? How effective or influential can a Christian's witness be in a factory? What methods does one use?

Labor relations is a very difficult problem and I think that a good deal of give-and-take is necessary to solve it. Both labor and

management are at fault. From observation thus far I feel that workmen could be happier if they tried harder to get along with each other. One should not too readily generalize on that, but an example may point up what I mean. Each person has a specific job to do and if he does not do it someone down the line may be slowed down or have to do more work. The ingredients are measured out by one person. Another brings them to the platform. Another lines them up in front of the kettle into which they go. And then the cooks put the ingredients in. After the soup is blended the kettle is drained by another person into a soup car, whence the soup is taken to the filling and sealing machine. And delay at any stage of the process arouses ire, particularly that of the cooks. They seem to be constantly yelling at someone for delaying the process. It frequently happens that one of the men who brings up the ingredients gets into a conversation with another and forgets to watch when more is needed or he has wandered off somewhere. This seems to be the cause for delay, more so than laziness.

The yelling of the cooks has quite an obvious basis. They are paid a base wage plus a premium for any amount of soup put out above a certain production standard. A production standard is set, say 200 batches of vegetable soup. For any production above that, the cooks and others at various stages of production get premiums—almost like getting something for nothing, earning as high as 12-16 hours worth of pay with 8 hours of work. Most workers think that is good money and so they put forth the extra effort needed. Before long they are consistently producing 240 batches on their shift—proving it can be done. The production standard is raised—premiums begin after 240 batches have been produced.

Some of the workers realize that working that hard is shortsighted. I personally feel that some of the cooks work very hard in order to get a premium and will wear themselves out before their years. A certain group of the cooks feel that way. Several years ago, so they told me, they saw where this premium thing was leading them. So they slowed down. They kept producing, working continuously, but at a pace that they felt they could continue over a period of time. Immediately the conflict began, first with foremen and bosses. The cooks courageously kept their pace, proved that they were not loafing (some of the cooks manage to lose lots of time going to wash rooms or working furiously for a short period and then sitting down). But they also had conflict with their fellow workers. Those who transported the soup to the filling department wanted to go faster, for the premium. Finally, in most cases the company doesn't have to interfere because the workers argue enough among themselves to bring the particular group back into the hard-work race for premiums.

At certain stages inspectors enter in too. My recipe says that a certain soup is to be cooked for 8 minutes before adding the final ingredients. Previous inspectors had been letting them put the additional ingredients in after 5-6 minutes of cooking time, and occasionally the kettle was drained by the time the 8 minutes were up. This would cut 2-3 minutes off the production time enabling them in an 8 hour shift to produce possibly 20-30 extra kettles of soup. After checking with the foreman, I began being stricter about the matter and their ire turned to me. It was then a problem of making them do it and like it. I soon saw that being legalistic about it wasn't going to produce friendly relations, so I began trying to make friends with the men. They are gradually taking a liking to me, for which I am thankful, but I still have a long way to go.

There is definitely a difference between the cooks. Some abide by the cooking time without question. Others attempt to cut corners wherever possible. They think only of themselves and the extra dollars they might earn. It would seem that their interest should also be in the quality of the product although in return the company should then be interested in the welfare of the workman. How much difference some of these things make on the quality of the soup my fellow inspectors do not seem to know. I definitely feel the need for some class instruction on the job.

The first day we enforced the 8 minute cooking time we found what the cooks think of inspectors. They seem to feel that we don't know too much (which we actually don't) and are therefore a hindrance to production. They say "We've been cooking this soup for 8 or 9 years and here you are trying to tell us how to do it. You don't know anything about it. You have only been here a couple of months."

In truth the industrial worker feels as if he is alone with reprimands and orders coming to him from bosses and fellow workers. Everybody looks out for himself. And here again, the double-life enters in: job and off-job. I feel alone at work because I am basically different in attitude and way of life from my co-workers. Off the job I never see them. Some live on North side, others as far as 10500 South. Each has his own sphere of interest and small circle of friends. With my working on night shift and not being able to get into different group activities I definitely feel a lack of friends and fellowship. Were it for work alone I could feel no sense of individual worth or achievement and the security that comes therewith; there is not that much effort involved or satisfaction in it. If I had no faith or had found no good fellowship in the church, I'd feel trapped—as if living from day to day without being able to see any hope for the future. I suppose that is why

people resort to all types of erotic behavior. They look for something to fill the emptiness of their lives and suppose that something unusual, something new, drink, sex, or entertainment will fill the bill. Charlie with whom I frequently ride home used to stop at a tavern every night to drink beer simply because he didn't feel like going to bed and didn't know what else to do.

I am not the only one in the inspection department who feels he doesn't know much about his job. One of the men has been there for many years and still has not been instructed on all phases of his job. We learned by observing how things were being done. As inspectors we ought to be told why things are done a certain way. It seems to be expected of us that we know why when something goes wrong. The foreman then asks, why did you let it go through that way? And the cooks accuse us of being inspectors and not knowing anything. Which is true, but we have to pretend that we do. If something to us seems highly irregular we never know whether to hold it up or not. So usually we let it go by and cross our fingers hoping that everything will be O.K. So there is always the measure of insecurity involved, never knowing whether you do your job well or not, seldom having the satisfaction of knowing that your participation made a significant difference.

In a setup such as this one easily develops an "I-don't-care" attitude. "Let it go by. Nobody will notice. Anyhow, I might be raising a fuss over something insignificant, so why worry." Discussing the matter of doing the job right one night, one of the inspectors said, "Who cares, I'm just putting in time." I find myself not paying attention all of the time. After all, one tells himself, that is a lot of watching for the few mistakes the cooks make. This attitude somehow doesn't seem to fit with a proper Christian attitude toward work and yet I find myself lapsing into it, and others doing so even more.

From the comments I read in the students-in-industry reports I gather that others also had a difficult time adjusting to the factory situation. It is very difficult to understand and adopt a working-man's point of view. We tell ourselves that we cannot be easily reconciled to not working hard or loafing a lot on the job, because Christian principles of hard work, industry, the golden rule, all prompt us to give our best. That however is only a part of the story.

The other part of our lack of adjustment to and understanding of the factory working-man's situation is based on our past experience. Mennonite people as I know them are essentially managers. They run their own farm or small business. If they work for someone else it is in exchange for work others have done for them; or someone whom they know personally. They are relatively free and

independent in their undertakings. They share in the fruits of the undertaking, the profits. They can see the part they play in the whole process.

But not so the workingman. He is a small cog in a large impersonal factory. He is a number and management is concerned about him only insofar as he is a factor in production. He has no appreciation for the problems of management in such a large setup, since he has never managed a business setup. Because he lacks this understanding he can easily gripe when things don't go his way. He sees his job and knows that the end product is soup, or a new car, or a piece of clothing, but he participated only in one phase of its production. By comparison the farmer gets in on plowing, seeding, cultivating and harvesting: the small businessman gets to buy, sell, install, repair, advertise. There is variety. The factory worker has only boredom. It becomes much easier to understand why the laborer does not take a vital interest in his job. He participates only slightly in the joys and fruits of production. He feels much less responsible, plus no chance for progressing.

I cannot wholly justify his attitude, because I still firmly believe that as Christians we should give our best in spite of what we get in return. That is a very sacrificial attitude to take, for the worker can be exploited continually. Industry is big and impersonal and management has pressure on it from stockholders and creditors to cut expenses and make more money. I doubt whether this sacrificial attitude will have any effect in changing management's attitude. What is the worker's alternative? Obviously this sacrificial attitude could put him in the dire straits of the workingman of the late 1800's or early 1900's. He could leave and find work in another industry where he would be treated better, but that avenue is not open to all workers. Or he can hope that the union will be able to negotiate something better for him.

I recall that the Moral Rearmament program has had its effects in labor-management relations. If labor and management can both be convinced that absolute honesty should be their rule, that labor will not take advantage by loafing or being careless, that management will not be unfair by raising quotas or cutting wages, much could be accomplished.

Maybe I am underestimating the power of a sincere sacrifice—a spirited worker in a large factory environment, motivated purely out of love. Mustard seeds become great things. Possibly that attitude could spread to the other workers. If enough workers caught the spirit, management might be convinced that the workers had production at heart and that therefore they ought to be more interested in the welfare of the worker.

We ought also to consider the term "work." To our rural Men-

nonite people their work is intimately bound to a way of life. The farmer lives in it. When he isn't working, he is talking about it. Wednesday and Saturday night discussions on the streets of Henderson, Nebraska, manifest that. Too many of those discussions take place on Sunday and too much involvement in it limits participation in the affairs of the church.

Not so the urban worker. He lives in two spheres. In the one he works, and in the other he lives. His work is boredom and he is anxious for the week end, day off, or vacation. Although my contacts with working people are somewhat limited, I have not experienced his absorption in his work to any degree comparable to that of the Henderson farmer. He attempts to make such use of his free time so that the joy or inspiration of it can tide him through the day or week.

I find it difficult to understand how it would be possible for a factory worker to gain real joy or satisfaction out of his job. Partly I suppose this is due to my very limited experiences thus far, but I think every worker faces this quandry. He finally becomes adjusted to the situation, less in the sense of really liking it, but more in the sense of just conceding to it.

I personally have had to struggle with this boredom and have had difficulty finding something challenging in the work at Campbells. I have tried to take an interest in people to learn about them, to understand them, and, to try to love them. I find it difficult, partly for personality reasons, but partly because my experience with them is only on the job. When there is a lull in the production, which there frequently is, I attempt to engage others in conversation. I am finding out many things about them. I am constantly compelled to re-evaluate my own training, thinking and prejudices in the light of their environmental background and present attitudes. I am finding for example that it is easy for me to love those who agree with me, who love me, who have a similar purpose and attitude in life. I find that it is much more difficult to love those with whom you have little in common, whose interests and vocabulary are to Christianity unlovely. It is much easier to criticize and pronounce judgment than to take into account their training and the opportunities they have had with the intent or hope of changing their lives and winning them to Christ. I find my own attitudes to be very pharisaic and legalistic rather than full of love and compassion. I always thought I loved, but continued to be shocked by the level of some people's behavior. Now I am less shocked by what men do and are and begin to think more in terms of what counsel and Christ and love could make them be. If only that comes out of my experience, it will have been worth while.

In all my job experiences so far I have been concerned about being Christian and leaving a Christian witness. So far I have not said much partly for fear of saying the wrong thing and partly because I felt that saying something would only isolate me so that further conversation would be impossible. I've tried to be understanding and approach people from that point of view. One cannot blame many for what they do and what they are. They haven't had the advantage of a Christian home and training. They have not been taught differently or perhaps at all. Their conscience had not been trained to be sensitive to evil. One needs also to consider the environment in which they live and the multitude of forces pulling toward evil. Can one condemn because they haven't had a chance? Yet, isn't there a point at which one has to point out to people that certain types of behavior, in which they have indulged, are immoral and sinful, that they by implication are sinners, that sinners are condemned of God? Or doesn't one say those things, just assumes them? It is, of course, not we who condemn even though we may have a condemning attitude. Only God through the individual's conscience can really make a person penitent for his deeds. The Pharisees condemned the woman taken in adultery. Jesus did not verbally condemn her. Perhaps His holiness, His very presence did. At least we are left with the feeling that she left His presence a changed woman. Or the woman at the well. Jesus did not condemn her, but she was won to Him along with many of her friends. Did this approach work because Jesus was the person? Would not it work for us too?

Perhaps all my concern over approach and method in leaving a Christian testimony is irrelevant. I almost have the feeling I am trying too hard, trying to draw on past experience which is not applicable here or on things I may have heard at one time or another.

I think another approach might be more successful. If I would be concerned about how my life on the job testifies of a Christian faith, then I should spend time in prayer presenting that concern to God and letting Him speak to me about it. New insights come during prayer. If I am concerned about one particular person I should mention him in prayer, describing him and his needs to God. If the concern is real I will take time to do that. Then I should pray that I will be a fit tool ready to use when God thinks the time has come for me to speak. Then turn the problem over to Him and no worry about what to say or how to say it. God will lead. I will suddenly realize that I have talked to a person, however briefly, about something that has spiritual overtones. If I continue to commune with God my task will be done that way.

In other words, I feel that being too conscious of one's own role

is a hindrance to the type of personal testimony God would have us give. Being conscious of our own role also makes us conscious of success or failure in the given situation, which things should not be our concern. Our yieldedness should be our first concern.

I have had cause to wonder about several things that developed in the past several weeks for they make me feel that others at least feel there is something different about me.

1. One of the fellows, Fred, was passing around a copy of a story. He didn't show it to me so I asked Bill what it was. He told me and added that Fred hadn't shown it to me for fear I would preach at him. I didn't quite know how to take that. Perhaps Fred had the feeling that such stories ought not to be disseminated—felt just a bit guilty. I hope so. On the other hand, I don't feel too happy that others feel I am going to preach at them, as if they think religion is something that keeps you from enjoying yourself and keeps life from being interesting.

2. My job has been mostly up on the platform where there are soup-blending kettles. This is where practically all new inspectors start and it has been or is considered a promotion to be assigned to one of the other jobs on the floor: to get out of the steam and heat, to be able to learn something new, and to receive more responsibility, if not a pay increase. In the past several weeks I've been assigned to jobs off the platform on several occasions. This had happened before at which time Bill, one of the other fellows, told me that several of the other fellows with eight to ten months seniority over me were quite jealous. One of these times I got the impression that one of these fellows had a hard time looking me in the eye. Bill also confirmed this. I did not want to be pushing myself ahead, particularly not at the expense of others. I was not sure whether these opportunities to learn more and do other jobs were accidental or by design. I only knew I hadn't asked for them.

One day when the foreman was taking me over to learn a new operation, he was explaining to me how it was good to learn all these different things—that some day somebody will add them up and to your advantage. I then suggested that there were other fellows who should be having these opportunities before—those with seniority and experience. He told me that they were not ready for these opportunities yet. "Anyhow," he said, "Don't feel bad about moving ahead of them. You aren't asking for these chances."

I do not know what conclusions to draw at this point. I would hesitate to say that my work has been so good, or that my attitude and relations with others have left their mark. Yet I cannot escape the feeling that being conscientious and honest on the job

has left its marks. These are more or less unconscious attitudes which have had their various manifestations. The incident of the salt tag may be one of the more obvious expressions. Frank confessions of error which have saved the boss much time in ironing out irregularities were perhaps a factor.

3. One night production was a bit slow in coming to a halt and consequently we finished up about ten minutes later than usual. I finished details and changed clothes and punched out as soon as possible, and then left—at 11:54. If we leave at 12:00, we get three-tenths of an hour overtime. No overtime counts until 12:00 although quitting is 11:42. The two other fellows who had been on the same operation with me were quite disgusted because I left so hastily. They wanted to wait six more minutes and get the three-tenths overtime, about 75 cents extra pay; and it wouldn't look too good if I left and they didn't. I didn't argue but left anyway. Afterwards in thinking about the situation I was convinced I had done the right thing. Their idea was: Don't give the company anything, not even twelve minutes. But I felt I was much happier my way. This way was the honest, and therefore the right way, and perhaps E. Stanley Jones would say, "the natural way," and therefore the Christian way. I didn't have to devise excuses so that in case the boss came around I could explain my loitering. I didn't have to worry about where to stay until 12:00 so the boss wouldn't see me loitering. My way was not nearly so complicated. My mind was free for contemplation.

This problem of being a Christian witness keeps recurring. I was reading Trueblood's, *The Common Ventures of Life*, particularly the introduction and chapter on work. He speaks in the introduction concerning the wholeness of man—the idea that religion is not something separate from life, but should be integrated into it. It occurs to me that this is the only effective way to bring a Christian witness. If our faith is effectively integrated into our work life and personality, it will find expression naturally in many and varied ways. We will find it possible to talk naturally about our church life and activities, and about our own spiritual life. Christians in industry need courage. Not long ago a missionary reported on his work among the Arizona Indians. I found that the fellows with whom I work were interested and that it was a good beginning point in talking about things vital to belief and life. It is quite simple to witness after you get started. We ought to pray every day for the courage to let our whole life—one the job, off the job, in our spare time, in our business dealings—give expression to a vibrant living faith. That is finally what it will take to win and generate life in others.

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